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BTA CALLS GROMYKO-SHULTZ TALKS 'GOOD BEGINNING'

AU091828 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 9 Jan 85

["A Good Beginning Which Requires a Good Continuation" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Geneva, January 9 (BTA) -- (Political observer Nencho Khranov) -- The assessments made both in the East and in the West coincide completely in one aspect -- the meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and USA State Secretary George Shultz was useful and yielded important results. The accord reached on the subject and aims of the future Soviet-American talks on space and nuclear weapons creates an actual possibility for a clearing of the international political horizon, for reaching agreements which can avert the militarization of space and stop the arms race of earth.

When we assess this meeting we cannot pass by the contribution of the Soviet foreign policy, the numerous intiatives put forward by Moscow for reaching these results. The initiative for the Geneva meeting itself and for the future talks was carried in Mr Konstantin Chernenko's letter to the U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Many persevering and constructive steps were necessary for renewing the Soviet-American dialogue suspended by Washington's short-sighted actions and by the course of confrontation and disturbing the nuclear balance pursued by it.

Of course, at present no one can expect the results of the Gromyko-Reagan [as received] meeting to solve at one swoop the accumulated not through the fault of the Soviet Union mountains of contradictions and complicated problems. The accords are directed towards the outlining the framework of the future talks. They are a good beginning, but, I repeat, a beginning. To a great extent the efficient results of the talks will depend on to what extent and how the American side will approach the obligations it has assumed and on whether it will show sincerity and political will at the round table. It is obvious that the time has come for Washington to put with some old stereotypes of thought and with the dangerous philosophy "the more weapons -- the greater the security". In the nuclear age one cannot strengthen one's own security at the expense of the security of other states and peoples.

The packed to capacity nuclear arsenals will suffice for the many-time annihilation of all living things on our planet. Should, in spite of this, new weapons for mass annihilation be created and should the fatal arms race be transferred into outer space? Obviously the time has come to reassess the unachievable aim: to disturb the balance and to make the socialist countries fall down on their knees. They should be regarded only as equal partners. This is why it is necessary to search together for the only right road to a peaceful space, to a radical reduction of the nuclear weapons, without disturbing the nuclear parity and without threatening the security of a single state.

This is the course constantly pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, which will not tolerate any conjuncture changes. This is how the chance, which the agreement in Geneva presents, should be assessed. What has been achieved with a lot of work and effort -- the opening up of real possibilities for reaching mutually acceptable agreements -- creates preconditions for overcoming the momentum, the political confrontation and the nuclear arms race. If the talks start well, if new possibilities for reaching agreements for curbing the arms race are created, this will influence the whole political climate in the world and will contribute to strengthening the strategic stability. The U.S. and its NATO allies have yet to show with their actions whether reason and responsibility before the future have prevailed in their political course. The good beginning in Geneva requires a good continuation. This is what all peace-loving peace in the world want.

PARTY DAILY LAUNCHES QUALITY CAMPAIGN INITIATIVE

'Radical Change' Urged

AU031310 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 2 Jan 85

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA) -- Today's issue of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO newspaper leads its front page with a big editorial under the heading "Revolutionary Thought, Revolutionary Action". The feature inaugurates the preparations for the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, whcih will be convoked in the spring of 1986.

The article quotes the words of Mr Todor Zhivkov: "We shall make decisive progress only if we effect a radical change in our thought and in our approach."

"We cannot meet the high social targets without a radical change in our views and criteria for development, without thinking and acting like revolutionaries", the feature says. "This mode of thinking and struggle ensures from the essence of our teaching, from the creative approach of Marxism-Leninism, from the character and the historic mission of the revolutionary and the communist movement". It is emphasized that the very nature of the socialist society and especially of the current stage in its history calls for the organic combination of the revolution in science and technology with the noble goals of the communist movement.

The article points out that the strategy of comprehensive intensification, of the intellectualization of production and of all activities is of paramount political, ideological and social importance for Bulgaria. The national scientific potential is already capable of solving very promising tasks and of achieving a dramatic upgrading of the level of the material and intellectual production.

At the same time, it turns out that the relations between the research organizations and production sector need an overall change and improvement.

The RABOTNICHESKO DELO paper calls for a critical review of the work in every enterprise, in each agro-industrial complex and research institute, at every work-place, so that an exact answer could be found to the question, have we reached the ceiling of our capacities. The article says that at present the country's fixed assets total 100 billion leva. But the results of the utilization in certain spheres are still far from the real capacities, especially in comparison with the conditions and achievements in other countries.

In the view of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, most pressing at present are the problems of the complex mechanization and automation of production. An emphasis is laid on the revolutionary changes due to come from the manufacture and introduction of flexible automated production systems in keeping with the trends in world practice. New technologies are of paramount, decisive importance, as the article points out, "they have come to the fore in the economic and even in the political relations between the two social systems."

The article stresses the need of a dramatic improvement in the organisation of public production. The scientific organization of social labour presupposes radically different methods of planning. "The main indicator in the plan should be the index of the practical introduction of techno-scientific innnovations", RABOTNICHESKO DELO notes.

The article appeals for decisive action in order to establish the standards of production as the principal criterion in evaluating the work in all fields and above all in the economy. The need of measures for the ultimate application of the economic approach is stressed for all economic, political and social structure as a sine qua non to check the flow of mediocre results.

"The scientific organization of labour in all structures of production, the administration and the scientific services means resistance, a resolute and uncompromising war on the manifestations of bureaucracy, of patronage, of indifference and of bringing to naught valuable ideas and constructive suggestions", RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes.

"The higher the office occupied, the state, party and public position", the article says, "the higher the responsibilities for taking revolutionary and creative action, for giving the green light to the new ideas, for exploring ever broader avenues to progress."

In conclusion the editorial points out that the new approach requires, among other things, a comprehensive improvement of the party and ideological work.

S & T Offer Great Opportunities

AU081943 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 7 January carries on pages 1 and 3 an approximately 6,500-word follow up to the 2 January article under the rubric "Revolutionary Thought, Revolutionary Action!" It opens with a 500-word editorial note entitled "Creative Approach, Active Civic Stand!" introducing the "Scientific-Practical Conference Through Correspondence" which is one of the main features of this "basic initiative" and explaining the subjects that will be discussed at these conferences. The editorial note states: "Now, at the beginning of the initiative of RABOTNICHESKO DELO which has transformed the appeal for revolutionary thought and action into the initiative's weapon and main source of inspiration, we, all of us, the workers in all sectors, must ask ourselves the necessary and urgent question: "Are there cases of conventional methods of work, stagnating in their bureaucratic forms, which are obstructing progress and innovation?"

The editorial further points out that "remarkable opportunities are opening to us through the application of top scientific-technological results and scientific discoveries, particularly when they are of our own, Bulgarian origin and which are being created by establishing small and medium-size enterprises," The introductory editorial closes by appealing to the "scientists, engineers, specialists, worker-innovators, and public figures to be the first to express their categorical opinions and submit constructive proposals. We are waiting for ideas, creative and constructive ideas and letters, full of meaningful and varied proposals and recommendations."

Page 3 is devoted to contributions of Bulgarian scientists, scholars, and technical experts participating in today's Scientific-Practical Conference Through Correspondence" who are all members of RABOTNICHESKO DELO's "Scientific-Technological Council." They are introduced as follows: Academician Kiril Serafimov; Professor Deyan Pavlov; Prof Dr Marko Markov; Academician Dimitur Shopov; Academician Kiril Bratanov; Prof Vladimir Ganovski; Stoyan Radev, hero of socialist labor; Prof Dr Stefan Gaydarzdhiev; Senior Research Fellow Krustyu Iliev; Pencho Sirakov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Prof Dr Rusi Gurov; Ivan Popov, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences; Prof Dr Zdravka Kovacheva; and Prof Nesho Tsarevski

Academician Kiril Serafimov writes in his contribution: "I think that the psychological atmosphere within the party organizations and organs is not always favorable to the solution of the problems of scientific-technological progress." He further notes: "Unfortunately, some of our leading functionaries are deluding themselves that computerization, increasing intellectual sophistication, and revolutionary changes will take place in other spheres and that others will master the new sophistication of our epoch or, to put it more precisely, that these problems will concern our children who are being trained with computers. On the contrary, radical innovation is affecting everything today, including our entire production, the administrative and organizational work, the work of public organizations, trade, public services, and all spheres of life. Computerization and increasing intellectual sophistication are accomplishing their revolution at this very moment, and no one is entitled to postpone them to an uncertain future. A great obstacle is represented by bureaucracy, by fake initiatives, and by the idle organizational noise of many organs."

The contributions of the other members of the Scientific-Consultative Council are similar to this first statement. They stress the value of an "appropriate sociopsychological atmosphere" for the education of workers and young people in the spirit of innovation. The role of the educational system in this context is greatly emphasized.

Some of the contributors also deal with international cooperation in the scientific-technological innovations sector.

Prof Nesho Tsarevski closes his statement, which is the last in the series of contributions, as follows: "I think that we should not underestimate the question of creative thought and daring in connection with our cadres in the foreign trade centers and those engaged in foreign trade relations. Our country has something to be proud of, but is also facing great problems in the sector of the development of productive forces. The questions of our scientific-technological cooperation with socialist and other countries, the achievement of economic and technological independence, and so forth, deserve special attention in the further development of RABOTNICHESKO DELO's initiative.

"We are increasingly integrating our scientific potential with that of the USSR and the other socialist countries. This offers excellent opportunities for implementing our country's strategy in the scientific-technological development sector and opens favorable prospects for cooperation."

Practical Application Emphasized

AU091251 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jan 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Revolutionary Thought and Action -- Party Style!"]

[Excerpts] The construction of a mature socialist society in our country is relying on the great achievements of the contemporary scientific-technological revolution. On the basis of scientific-technological progress we are facing the complicated synthesis of theory and practical approach, of politics, ideology, science, economics, and morality; a synthesis which produces a vigorous new acceleration in our development. Hence, the necessity of rapidly increasing contributions from everyone and from all of us in connection with all-round intensification through the establishment and application of the greatest scientific and technological achievements, through placing all management, administrative, and social activities on an economic basis, and through the further perfection of the organization of production and labor organization.

Revolutionary thought and action are the most characteristic features of party style today, the most complete and accurate features of this style, which also includes a creative approach. These characteristic features manifested themselves in the preparations for and implementation of the 12th BCP Congress, the national party conference, and in the decisions adopted by these forums, as well as in their practical implementation. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches and statements, especially his lectures to the students and teachers of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration represent a brilliant example of revolutionary thought and action, of creative spirit and innovation, as well as an inexhaustible source of ideas and concepts which are constantly being enriched.

Our task in this respect is complicated and difficult. As the sociological research conducted by the Sofia BCP Committee demonstrated, old ways of thinking, routine, and occasionally a conservative spirit constitute obstacles which demand considerable political, explanatory, educational, and organizational work to overcome.

We will, however, be deeply wrong if we transform such realities and social needs as revolutionary thought and action and creative spirit and innovation into mere phraseology. Translated into the language of practical party work, these concepts of style and approach primarily signify working in a businesslike and well-organized manner, with discipline and great competence, with a profoundly scientific approach, adopting speedy and long-term decisions and mobilizing all those factors which determine the efficient implementation of these concepts. At the same time, however we must be irreconcilable as regards negative phenomena in party work, such as subjectivism, bureaucratic methods, formalism, overly restrictive attitudes regarding the work of party organizations; to put it briefly, we must be irreconcilable concerning everything that makes us waste socially useful time.

In order to adopt, apply, and create innovations, in order to achieve the highest results in every sector of life, we must work with our minds and hearts, and not only talk; we must act, and not indulge in vain ponderings; we must reject without hesitation everything that obstructs our dynamic progress; we must wage an irreconcilable struggle. These are the style and approach necessary today.

KHRISTOV NOTES 'POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT' OF FRG TIES

AU091931 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA) -- The economic relations between Bulgaria and the FRG are undergoing a positive development but there still exist unused possibilities. Bulgaria's Foreign Trade Minister Mr Khristo Khristov and Mr. Otto Wolff von Amerongen, chairman of the Eastern Committee of the West German economy, noted today.

The FRG continues to rank first in the list of Bulgaria's partners among the advanced capitalist countries. In the meeting the interest of the business circles of the two countries in the further deepening of the economic relations was stressed.

Mr Khristo Khristov and Mr. Otto Wolff von Amerongen discussed some issues of the trade and economic relations between the CMEA and the EEC. They elaborated on some of the possibilities for establishing lasting cooperation in some spheres and especially in those of transport, energy resources, the exchange of progressive technologies, etc.

ALGERIA'S BRAHIMI DEPARTS, PROTOCOL SIGNED

AU091325 Sofia BTA in English 1155 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA) -- The final talks were held today between Mr Grisha Filipov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Abdelhamid Brahimi, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) and prime minister of Algeria, who is paying an official and friendly visit here. At the talks there were discussed a wide range of questions pertaining to bilateral trade, economic and techno-scientific cooperation. It is a common desire to activate reciprocal economic relations in the next few years, to raise the efficiency of the cooperation, to proceed towards employing new forms of business contacts. Mr Grisha Filipov and Mr. Abdelhamid Brahimi deem it especially important to use such forms of economic cooperation as to ensure a long-term nature of the relations. The heads of the two governments also think that the extensive plans for economic relations in the year to come are feasible because there exist a number of factors favoring this such as the mutual supplementing of the two countries' economies.

Mr Grisha Filipov and Mr. Abdelhamid Brahimi signed a protocol on the talks held on matters of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation, which provides for the further extending and deepening of the economic relations in accordance with the agreements reached by the party and state leaders of the two countries Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Chadli Bendjedid.

In the next few years the planning bodies will be playing an important role in finding new spheres for economic cooperation, therefore the relations between them are planned to enrich. A considerable increase of the trade is expected, which in 1985 is to amount to some 100 million dollars, and in 1986 to be doubled as compared to the preceding year. Measures have been outlined for the prompt signing of long-term trade agreements. Specific joint undertakings are planned in mechanical engineering, electronics and electrical engineering, geological prospecting, the light industry, construction and agriculture. In the farming sphere Bulgarian specialists are to render assistance in training Algerian personnel and will build different projects. There exist projects for cooperation in the forest economy, the environment and in tourism, where apart from exchanging tourists the Bulgarian side will also render asistance in designing and building tourist sites.

Stress is laid on trilateral cooperation, namely the setting up in Algeria of joint ventures with the participation of Algeria, Bulgaria and third parties, as well as the setting up of enterprises in Bulgaria to be operated with Algerian raw materials and to meet the needs of specific output not only for Bulgaria and Algeria but also for other states.

The Bulgarian and Algerian sides express satisfaction with the state of techno-scientific relations and measures are outlined for their extending.

The three-day official and friendly visit to Bulgaria of Mr Abdelhamid Brahimi is over today. He was here at the invitation of Mr Grisha Filipov, the head of the Bulgarian government. The distinguished guest left Bulgaria.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS SWEDISH CP CONGRESS

AU071634 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Jan 85 p 4

[Text] BCP Central Committee greeting message to the 27th Swedish Communist Left Party Congress.

The BCP Central Committee and all Bulgarian Communists are conveying fraternal greetings to the delegate and guests of the 27th Swedish Communist Left Party Congress.

The greeting messages reads as follows: Your present congress is taking place in circumstances of a complicated and tense international situation. After the United States, against the peoples' will, began to deploy new medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the Washington administration is preparing to transfer the arms race to outer space.

This is precisely why the most urgent task of all peoples, governments, and parties is the struggle to defend peace. For the sake of this goal, it is today more necessary than ever to rally the communist movement in Europe and around the world, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to ensure the unity of action of all democratic and progressive forces in one united front.

The Bulgarian Communists are in irrevocable solidarity with the struggle of the Swedish Communist Left Party in defending the social achievements of the Swedish working people against the antipeople policy and attempts of the monopolies.

We welcome and support the activities of your party in the struggle for peace and disarmament and for a return to detente in international relations, as well as for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. In this connection, we highly appreciate the contribution of Sweden to peace and understanding among peoples.

The Bulgarian Communists and all our people today are working indefatigably to implement the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress, in continuing to build a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and in bringing to pass new successes in all spheres of public life.

In confirming our confidence that the relations between the BCP and the Swedish Communist Left Party will develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proleterian internationalism, we convey to you, dear comrades, the most sincere greetings and wishes for successful and fruitful work at your Congress.

LEADERS SEND CONGRATULATIONS, CONDOLENCES TO PRK

Greetings on National Day

AU081414 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jan 85 p 1-2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the PRK, and to Son Sen, acting chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the Bulgarian people's behalf and on our own behalf, we convey to the State Council of the PRK, and to the entire Cambodian people, the most ardent greetings on behalf of the national day of the PRK.

The historical victory of the revolutionary-patriotic forces on 7 January 1979 over the bloodthirsty Pol Pot regime, marked the beginning of a national revival and of the implementation of the most thorough socioeconomic changes in your country. We note with great satisfaction that in past years the people of Cambodia, under the leadership of its vanguard, the KPRP, in close cooperation and friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries, and the progressive forces of the world, overcame the great difficulties and achieved considerable successes along the path of building a new life, in implementing the decisions of the Fourth KPRP Congress and the program adopted by it for establishing the foundations of socialism in the country.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly appreciates the consistent and peace-loving foreign policy of the PRK, and fully supports the joint initiatives and the struggle of the three fraternal countries of Indochina for the transformation of the Southeast Asian area into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation.

We are happy that the relations between our two parties, countries, and peoples are developing along ascending lines on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are convinced that they will be further expanded and intensified, which is in conformity with the interests of both the Bulgarian and Cambodian peoples, in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the PRK, we wish you, dearest comrades, and the fraternal Cambodian people, even greater successes in building a prospering, new Cambodia.

Regrets Over Official's Death

AU072100 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

Dear Comrade Heng Samrin: With a feeling of great sorrow we learned about the untimely death of Chan Si, Politburo member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Chan Si's life was indissolubly linked to the struggles of the Cambodian people against colonialism, American aggression and the Pol Pot anti-people clique, and for the national and social liberation of his country.

Following the Cambodian revolution and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, he devoted all his efforts to the revival and innovation of his country along the path of socialism, to the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace and security in the region of Southeast Asia. Chan Si made his contribution to the development and intensification of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Cambodian peoples.

On the occasion of this great loss suffered by you and the Cambodian people, we express on behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and on behalf of all Bulgarian people the most sincere condolences to you, to the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, to the State Council and Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and to the fraternal Cambodian people.

RESULTS OF GROMYKO-SHULTZ TALKS VIEWED FAVOURABLY

'Actions' Should Now Follow

LD091943 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Antonin Kostka has prepared some comments concerning the close of talks between the Soviet American foreign ministers Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz.

Anyone who expected too much, anyone who looked at the meeting with high hopes will now most probably feel disillusionment. It could seem that evaluating the subject and goals of talks on nuclear and space weapons which are yet to take place, with the time and place of the talks to be arrived at later through diplomatic channels, is not a particularly great and significant result for the 2-day talks. Everyone, however, who ponders the present highly tense situation in the world, the condition of Soviet-American relations, and the fact that Washington has pushed this tension to the verge of conflict, will much more likely come to the conclusion that the results of the Gromyko-Shultz talks have exceeded the expectations of sober observers. They have been more important and extensive than could have been anticipated. Also, judging by the conflict-ridden attitudes of the highest American representatives, oscillating between restrained goodwill and hard refusal of any agreement at all, the talks take on even greater significance because even those who hinted at goodwill did not originally appear willing to discuss space arms, for example. If they were at all willing to discuss space arms, they were willing to do so only if separate talks were held on so-called defensive and offensive weapons. These were attitudes which condemned in advance any disarmament talks to failure.

If despite these clearly negative tendencies an agreement was reached on beginning new disarmament talks, it becomes totally clear that the Geneva talks between the Soviet and American foreign ministers are a marked success for the ideal of peace and create considerable prerequisites for disarmament. What's more, agreement has been reached to hold talks not only on space weapons but also on strategic resources and medium range missiles; to solve related problems without their being mutually linked and, significantly, with the aim of averting the arms race in space; to stop this arming on earth; to limit and reduce the state of nuclear arms; and to strengthen strategic stability in such a way as to make this whole process end with a general and complete liquidation of nuclear arms.

Of course, all of this requires that the prerequisites, achieved so far, and this is the core of the problem, not end simply with good intentions but that words be supported by actions. In this direction the hitherto bitter experiences with Washington political practices unforunately do not allow much room for optimism. The very fact that during the Geneva talks the United States of America carried out, and for emphasis televised, the testing of a space laser gun gives rise to considerable doubt. This is all the more true because immediately after the end of the talks the American secretary emphasized at the press conference that the United States will talk about the concept of space war but will not give up this concept because President Reagan is said to truly and deeply believe in it. Both events give rise to unpleasant reminiscences. For example, recently the weight of public opinion for a time pushed the Americans to the conference table in Geneva to discuss nuclear disarmament in Europe and reduction of the strategic arsenal. They drew out these talks by putting forward unacceptable demands until the talks became meaningless. Meanwhile they did something in which President Reagan then also deeply believed: They deployed new nuclear first strike missiles in Western Europe. It was purely no accident that on the eve of the present Geneva talks the highest Soviet representative Konstantin Chernenko warned against attempts to misuse the talks to fool the public.

The new disarmament talks, for which the meeting of ministers Gromyko and Shultz has cleared the way, offer humanity a unique chance to end the existentially dangerous arms race. Nations must now not allow the talks to be thwarted; they must demand that full use be made of them.

Space Weapons Emphasized

LD092209 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Today's guest in the studio is Jiri Jambor who returned from Geneva 2 hours ago.

[Question] In the Soviet-U.S. statement space weapons are set as one of the topics of the talks. The first reactions show that Western journalists were quite surprised by this. Why?

[Jambor] [words indistinct] Because if you remember the statement of 2 months ago, when it was decided that the Geneva talks should take place, it says in the statement that space weapons will be discussed. But it is important, even if not surprising, that the communique issued yesterday evening confirms this point, that space weapons will be discussed. And naturally this is very, very important.

[Question] On both Monday and Tuesday some journalists said there are opponents in the U.S. delegation to the talks with the USSR. Whom were the journalists referring to?

[Jambor] West German and American newspapers mention [name indistinct], who is an under secretary in the Defense Department, and also a number of other groups pressuring the United States to be as unyielding as possible in the Geneva talks.

[Question] Judging by the joint statement, they did not win this time.

[Jambor] Not from the procedural point of view, but this remains to be seen in the actual concrete talks because it would not be right to ascribe another meaning to the agreement reached in Geneva than it has. It is only a procedural agreement. To put it simply: It was agreed that the talks will take place. No concrete talks took place. The concrete talks themselves will probably be very long and complicated, as the negative elements in U.S. policy will be asserted there. Therefore, the achieved agreement is a procedural agreement.

In addition it must be remembered that 2 years ago the United States entered the talks on medium-range missiles, but the talks only served as a cover-up for armament. Therefore it would not be right to ascribe to the agreement more significance than it actually has. Naturally, on the other side, the agreement reached in Geneva has another, very important aspect: In the first place it is important that the agreement as such was reached. It was agreed that the talks will take place. Some dates were set, and so was the division of groups.

Secondly, the agreement says that space weapons will be discussed, and this is the basic demand of the USSR and the other socialist countries. Why the delegation in Geneva went for this fixing of dates (?and topics) can only be a matter of speculation: It is likely that pressure from the world public was great and that the concern of the Western allies was also considerable.

Thirdly, of great interest and importance is the fact that agreement on opening the talks was achieved immediately during these 2 days. As late as Monday afternoon it was thought in Geneva that other talks would have to take place and that these talks would need an additional day.

In their totality all three of these factors certainly are contributing an important positive element to the current development of the international situation. But it is important to implement this positive element, and this will be a long and complicated journey.

HUSAK HONORS, AWARDS COLOTKA ON 60TH BIRTHDAY

LD092133 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Prague Jan 9 (CTK) -- The Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak presented here today Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Slovak Communist Party, [word indistinct] Premier Peter Colotka with the high Czechoslovak state distinctions on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

At a proposal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium, Peter Colotka was awarded the honorary title "Hero of Socialist Labour" with the right to wear the Gold Star of Hero of Socialist Labour and the Klement Gottwald Order for building the socialist homeland. The distinctions were awarded to him for many years' selfless work for the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the socialist society.

Present at the ceremony were members and alternate members of the Presidium, secretaries, Secretariat members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the chairman of the Party Central Control and Audit Commission.

Gustav Husak appreciated Peter Colotka's work for the building of socialism in this country, for the benefit of the Czechoslovak people, for successful implementation of the program and objectives of the Communist Party. He pointed out Peter Colotka's personal contribution to the implementation of the tasks of construction of an advanced socialist society, to the promotion of fraternal ties between nations and minorities in this country, as well as to the strengthening of friendly relations of allegiance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

Peter Colotka was born on [date indistinct] 1925 at Sedliacka Dubova in the district of Dolny Kubin, central Slovakia, as a son of a small farmer. He graduated from the faculty of law at the Omenius University in Bratislava. In 1957-1959 he held the office of the dean of the same faculty. In 1959-1961 he was vice rector of the Omenius University, in 1964 he became university professor.

After being elected deputy of the Slovak National Council in 1963, he was the Council's commissioner for justice until 1968. In March 1968 he became Czechoslovak [words indistinct]. From January-April 1969, he was chairman of the Czechosloval Federal Assembly, in May 1969 he was named Slovak premier.

In February 1948, he stood at the positions of the working people headed by the Czechoslovak Communist Party. After the Febrary victory he came out especially for the implementation of socialist reforms in the system of education, mainly since 1950 when he became university [words indistince]

He is member of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee since 1966, member of its Presidium since 1969, he was member of the Ideological and Legal Commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Slovak Communist Party Central Committees for many years. As member of a Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Commission he played an important part in 1963 party, civil and legal rehabilitation of party members and other persons unlawfully punished in the 1950's.

Since the 13th party congress he is member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, [word indistinct] 1969 he is member of its Presidium. For many years he has been a functionary in representative bodies, since 1963 he has held the office of deputy of the Slovak National Council, since 1969 deputy of the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. In these offices he actively contributed to the [word indistinct] consolidation in overcoming the deep crisis in party and society in 1968-1969, the restoration of the leading role of the party, all basic functions of the socialist state, friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Peter Colotka is holder of the Order of the Republic, Order of Victorious February, Order of Labour, and other state and party distinctions.

HAVLIN ADDRESSES ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEETING

LD081716 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed during his address at today's General Assembly meeting in Prague of members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences the role of science in tackling vitally important questions of further developing our socialist society. He praised the activity of the academy, aimed above all at more efficient use of research facilities and their more purposeful concentration on new tasks vital to the national economy. In this connection, he pointed to the need for the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Presidium, the Slovak Academy of Sciences Presidium, and the individual collegia and institute leaderships in particular to even more resolutely strive for a higher concentration of forces and means for achieving foremost tasks to accelerate the transition to a more intensive development of our society.

Comrade Josef Havlin said the significant task of science and our entire educational system is to create the prerequisites for overcoming negative phenomena in our society and to help efficiently shape the socialist consciousness of our people. The struggle for social consciousness in our present class-divided world, with the growing political, ideological, and military aggressivensss of imperialism, requires that our scientific workers always act as socialist scientists, Comrade Josef Havlin said at today's General Assembly of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

CORRECTIONS TO BRIEFS ON MINERAL RESERVES, AGRICULTURE

The following correction pertains to the brief headlined "Mineral Reserves Increase," published in the 8 January Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page D 3, lines five and six:

The reserves of graphite have increased by 2 million tons, those of fluoride and baryta by 5.6 million metric tons, and... (correcting amount);

and to lines nine and ten:

...reserves of auriferous ore currently amount to about double the amount of gold extracted in the CSSR since the Middle Ages. (changing "are" to "amount to about")

The following correction pertains to the briefs headlined "Czech Agricultural Production," published in the 8 January Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page D 3, line six:

...milk; and about 150 million eggs. (correcting figure);

and to lines ten and eleven:

...inordinately high overfulfillment of the production and procurement of animals for slaughter and other animal produce, even to the point of being a detriment to the creation of grain reserves in enterprises and higher management levels. (supplying dropped line)

COMMENTATOR CALLS GENEVA TALKS 'WELCOME STEP'

LD092348 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2140 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] We have already told you in our earlier programs about the result of the discussions between the foreign ministers of the USSR and the United States in Geneva, about the joint Soviet-American statement, which notes that the subject and the aims of the forthcoming Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear space weapons were discussed. Here is a commentary by Manfred Klein.

This brief observation takes in two important statements: First, the fact that there are to be new negotiations between the two superpowers, and second, that the subject of the negotiations, which inovlves space, strategic, and medium-range nuclear weapons, will be of a complex nature, with all these questions being discussed and resolved with a view to their interrelation. The subject of the negotiations cannot be separated from the achievement of the aim. The main themes are effective agreements, which are aimed at the prevention of the arms race in space and the ending of it on earth, at the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, and at the consolidation of strategic stability. In the final analysis, as the statement says, in the opinion of both sides, the forthcoming negotiations must, like all efforts in the field of limiting and reducing armaments, lead to complete and universal elimination of nuclear weapons.

The text of the joint statement makes it clear that in the interests of the peoples and in line with their expectations, high aims are being strived for. In connection with the talks and the prepared statement, Andrey Gromyko spoke this morning before his departure from Geneva of a step forward having been taken with the resumption of a dialogue between our two countries, and that this was only one step in the process; there are enormous tasks which must be disucssed in the course of the negotiations and overcome through agreed solutions.

The Soviet foreign minister defined the status of the talks when he noted that the whole world knew well that the situation on our planet depends largely on the state of Soviet-American relations.

The attitude of our state, listeners, and of the citizens of our country to the joint statement is beyond any doubt. The attitude is agreement, and it is accompanied by good wishes for the success of the negotiations. For the peace forces throughout the world Geneva will be an inspiration because it proves correct those who are convinced that it is worthwhile, that it is meaningful, to mobilize forces for the solution of the most important questions of our time.

The talks in Geneva are intended to open the way to serious, substantial negotiations between the USSR and the United States. Erich Honecker stressed this once again at the New Year reception for the diplomatic corps. The Soviet Union and the other socialist states have offered a feasible basis for these negotiations in the form of their proposals, right up to their readiness for the most radical disarmament steps. In the results of Geneva, the main starting point of socialist peace policy is therefore clear. Konstantin Chernenko described it by saying that the Soviet Union sees itself unswervingly committed to disarmament, to removing the danger of a nuclear war, and to peace. In this we also see the deep essence of our policy, of our principle that it is better to negotiate 10 times than to shoot once. And as regards the content and the result of the negotiations, we have a clear position: prevention of armament in new fields, particularly in space, reduction in arms potentials, the ensuring of military balance, and constantly falling levels.

A first, a welcome, step in this direction has been made in Geneva.

OFFICIAL ADDRESSES QUESTIONS ON 1985 PLAN

DW091049 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1600 GMT on 7 January carries a 50-minute recorded "listeners forum" program in which State Secretary in the State Planning Commission Heinz Klopfer answers questions about the GDR 1985 economic plan.

Answering questions about the special significance of the plan, he states that "this plan with its high demands on performance and effectiveness is the work program of the party and people for the preparation of the 11th SED Congress and also constitutes the basis of the next 5-year plan." It envisages further qualitative steps in the "implementation of the new stage of the economic strategy, which is aimed at continuing the dynamic economic growth through comprehensive intensification."

Asked about the meaning of "the new stage of the implementation of the economic strategy," the state secretary says that it includes the following factors: first, "the full implementation of a type of reproduction saving work time and resources;" second, scientific-technological progress; third, the boost of production with decreasing energy and material input; fourth, "modernization as the main form of reproduction of the basic stocks; and, fifth, "intensively expanded reproduction as the determining basis of economic growth."

In the period 1981-1984, the GDR increased production by an annual 6 percent while the material and energy input decreased, Heinz Klopfer says. The GDR uses 585 million tons of raw materials every year. Of this quantity, 92 percent are obtained from domestic resources. Asked about secondary raw materials, he says that "the limit of what is possible has not yet been reached." The 1985 plan envisages the utilization of secondary raw materials equivalent to raw materials worth M6 billion; in other words, some 12 percent of the GDR's raw material requirements are met by secondary raw materials.

Answering a listener's question of whether the sum of M56 billion earmarked in the 1985 economic plan for investments means a lot or little for the GDR, Klopfer states that this is a huge sum which shows the GDR's growing productive capacity. Some 55 percent of this sum is invested in industry, and some 17 percent in housing construction. Industrial investments primarily serve to develop the GDR's raw and plastic material basis as well as its energy basis, and to add higher value to products of the chemical, metallurgical, and coal industries as well as machine building.

The GDR has basic stocks totalling M1 billion which constitute about 20 times the annual investment volume and are composed of the existing buildings and facilities at 55 percent, and plant, machinery, equipment at 45 percent. Industry accounts for basic stocks worth M500 billion, agriculture M100 billion, and housing M200 billion. The state secretary stresses that "the modernization of basic stocks is the decisive centerpiece of all investments in all economic sectors." The means of investment are primarily used for rationalization, about 60 percent in 1985.

Asked about the planned increase of consumer goods production in 1985, Heinz Klopfer states that it applies to all areas of the economy, although different rates of increase are envisaged in the individual branches. The production of newly developed consumer goods will increase particularly quickly, up 17.5 percent over 1984. Concluding, the state secretary says that the GDR has always had a balanced state budget, acting according to the principle that only what has been produced can be consumed.

FELFE URGES BETTER AGRICULTURAL EFFICIENCY

LD091933 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Leipzig, 9 Jan (ADN) -- Crop production has priority in the further comprehensive intensification of GDR agriculture. This was stated by Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at a central conference on agriculture in Leipzig of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers. The key point is to increase and stabilize all crop yields, for that will ensure a high level of livestock production and increase home-grown supplies of foodstuffs. In 1985 a gross production of 46.3 decitons of grain equivalent units per hectare is planned, 2.4 decitons more than the average of 1981 to 1984, he said. The use of all irrigation resources is indispensable for high and stable yields. At present over 1 million hectares, some 17 percent of agricultural land, can be irrigated.

It is also important to ensure the planned animal produce with stable stocks by increasing the output per animal while improving feed management. Greater efforts must be made in caring for forests, increasing timber growth, and obtaining growing quantities of raw timber from young plantations.

In order to push scientific-technological advance in agriculture it is necessary to ensure high quality training at unviversities and vocational colleges and to improve the qualifications and training of farmers and workers. Agriculture is to improve its cost-return ratio in order to increase its contribution to the GDR's national income. It is an important task to rationalize the division of labor of agricultural enterprises.

Villages enjoy a secure future under socialism, he said. Fine villages with strong agricultural enterprises, developed cooperative relations, good working and living conditions, and a diversified cultural life; it all goes together, he added.

[East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1025 GMT on 9 January adds: "Approximately 1,300 participants will discuss the implementation of the 10th SED Congress economic strategy and the tasks set by the 1985 economic plan.

Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee; Walter Halbritter, director of the Office for Prices; and Bruno Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry and the food industry, are attending the 3-day event."]

DELEGATION ARRIVES IN NICARAGUA FOR INAUGURATION

LD092213 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2113 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Managua, 9 Jan (ADN) -- A GDR party and state delegation arrived in Managua today to take part in the celebrations to mark the inauguration of Daniel Ortega Saavedra as president of Nicaragua. It is headed by Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the Council of State and member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The delegation has been invited by the Nicaraguan Government and the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. Delegations from some 50 countries have now arrived in the Nicaraguan capital for what is an historic act of inauguration for Nicaragua.

The guests from the GDR were warmly welcomed by Sergio Ramirez Mercado, vice president-elect of the Republic of Nicaragua, and other leading persons.

During the welcoming ceremony, Egon Krenz handed over a solidarity donation representing part of a GDR gift for the further development of the Nicaraguan health service. He said that this donation is a fresh expression of the solidarity of the people of the GDR with revolutionary Nicaragua.

NEUMANN, NORWEGIAN CHURCH AFFAIRS MINISTER MEET

LD092234 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Berlin, 9 Jan (ADN) -- During a conversation on Wednesday in Berlin, Alfred Neumann, first deputy prime minister of the GDR, and Kjell Magne Bondevik, the minister for church affairs and education of the Kingdom of Norway, praised the good state of bilateral relations which has been achieved between the GDR and Norway. They said that this positive development served the interests of both people as well as the easing of the tense international situation.

Both parties agreed that preventing a nuclear holocaust is the most important task as present. In this respect, considerable significance is attached to a constructive political dialogue based on reason and realism, a dialogue to which the GDR and Norway can also make an important contribution.

Klaus Gysi, GDR state secretary for church affairs, who also received the Norwegian guest today, praised the active cooperation of religious believers in socialist society -- cooperation which is marked by equality of rights and obligations -- and the resolute achievements of the church in the sphere of social affairs and church welfare.

Both parties agreed that, in view of the dangerous international situation, religious and ecclesiastical support for peace is of great significance.

Kjell Magne Bondevik had a further meeting on Wednesday with Wolfgang Heyl, CDU deputy chairman.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA PREMIER VISITS COMBINE

LD091818 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Erfurt, 9 Jan (ADN) -- Johannes Rau, the minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia, was today recieved by the acting chairman of Erfurt Bezirk Council Horst Lang. Rau arrived in the GDR this morning on a fact-finding visit. In the afternoon he toured the Umformtechnik (metal forming) combine, where he was welcomed by general manager Kurt Weichold, who explained to him the combines' production structure as they toured the enterprises. Afterwards Johannes Rau called on the mayor of Weimar, Prof Gerhard Baumgaertel.

In the evening at the Deutschens National Theater Weimar he will attend to play by the Indian playwright Girish Karnad "Hayavadana or the Transposed Heads" directed by Vijaya Mehta.

HONECKER, STOPH GREETINGS TO CAMBODIAN LEADERS

AU081050 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and chairman of the PRK State Council, and Hun Sen, acting chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as Chea Sim, president of the National Assembly, on the occasion of their national day:

Dear comrades, on the national day of the PRK, the sixth anniversary of the liberation of the Cambodian people, we convey to you, the KPRP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the National Assembly, and all the Cambodian people most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the People's Chamber, and the people of the GDR as well as on our own behalf.

During the 6 years of its existence, the PRK has achieved great successes in restoring its national economy and culture, in reliably protecting the revolutionary achievements, and in building the new society. With initiative and creativity, the Cambodian people are implementing the decisions of the Fourth KPRP Congress. We most cordially congratulate you on these significant successes, dear comrades.

The PRK is working for peace and the reduction of tensions in Asia and all over the world. Thus, its international prestige is constantly growing.

The friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples are developing successfully on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the future the GDR will also work with all its strength to implement the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation of 18 March 1980 and contribute to further developing the fraternal relations between our states to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of strengthening peace and consolidating socialism.

Be assured that we will continue to be firmly at the side of the Cambodian people and actively support the legitimate demand for international recognition of the PRK.

We wish you, dear comrades, new successes, best health, and creative vigor in your responsible work.

SED CC SENDS MESSAGE TO SYRIAN BA'TH PARTY CONGRESS

AU071547 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings telegram signed by its General Secretary Erich Honecker to the delegates of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party in Damascus:

Dear comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys militant greetings of solidarity to the delegates of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party.

The Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Socialist Ba'th party takes place at a time when the most aggressive circles of imperialism, in particular the United States, leave nothing untried to constantly create new tension, not only in Europe but also in other regions of the world, to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, to rekindle the explosive situation in the Middle East, and to implement their plans of world domination in this region.

It is a basic concern in the struggle of all progressive forces in the world for preserving and securing peace to actively oppose this imperialist policy of confrontation, intensive armament, diktat, interference, and state terrorism.

The SED highly appreciates the policy of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party directed at strengthening the independence of the Syrian Arab Republic. The GDR people follow with sympathy the active work of the Syrian Arab Republic for the just cause of the Arab people, in its struggle against the imperialist policy of separate agreements, and its opposition to all of imperialism's attempts at direct aggressive acts.

In the future, the SED will also do everything it can to further develop the traditional and friendly relations between our parties and states to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace. The SED Central Committee wishes the Eighth Regional Congress of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party successful deliberations. We assure the Syrian people of our firm solidarity in the joint struggle against the aggressive strategic alliance between the United States and Israel that is threatening world peace, and for a comprehensive, just, and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict.

LIBYAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OFFICIALS VISIT

AU072044 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Thursday 3 January Kurt Seibt, president of the GDR solidarity committee, received Bashir al-Ferjani, secretary general of the Libyian-GDR friendship society, for friendly talks. The interlocutors assessed the achieved state of relations between the GDR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah (SPLAJ) and the activities of the friendship societies of the two countries and confirmed the identical positions on basic issues of international development. In view of the dangerous threat to the life of the European peoples by the policy of confrontation and arms buildup of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, it is important to intensify the joint efforts to secure world peace and to strengthen anti-imperialist solidarity, they stated.

Participating in the meeting were Prof Dr Joerg Vorholzer, president of the GDR-SPLAJ Friendship Committee, and Dr Mabruk al-Qayid, secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Office of the SPLAJ in the GDR.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION RISES DURING JAN-NOV 1984

LD091113 Budapest MTI in English 1037 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Budapest, January 9 (MTI) -- According to a report of the Central Statistical Office the production of Hungarian state and cooperative industry was 2.6 percent more in January-November 1984 than in the corresponding period of the previous year. Production increased in each main branch, electric energy, light and chemical industries saw the greatest increase. The number of industrial employees decreased by 0.5 percent and per capita production increased by 3.1 percent.

The purchase of agricultural products increased by 2.4 percent, including a 2.4 percent increase in that of plant products, a 3.6 percent growth in live animal [as received] and a 1.9 percent decrease in animal products.

As for foreign trade, import, accounted at current prices, increased by 8 percent and export by 11.8 percent.

Small trade turnover was 9.1 percent more -- at current prices -- and 0.6 percent more -- at comparative prices -- than in the first 11 months of 1983.

The population incomes from central sources went up by 11.7 percent (the increase of nominal incomes was 3 percent less than that of gross incomes). In January-November 1984 consumer price level increased by 8.3 percent, with a 5.3 percent share of price changes in 1984. Until the end of November 1984 socialist sector units spent the same amount of money on investments as in the corresponding period of the previous year.

COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH ALGERIA'S FLN

LD091812 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Budapest, January 9 (MTI) -- Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, met in Budapest Wednesday the delegation of the National Liberation Front (FLN) Party, which is staying in Hungary under the leadership of Mohamed Djeghaba, member of the Standing Secretariat of the CC and deputy president of the Supreme Youth Council.

In sincere and cordial talks the representatives of the two parties exchanged views on topical international issues, informed each other on the state of their countries, surveyed inter-party relations, and the possibilities of further develop cooperation.

Matyas Szuros and Mohamed Djeghaba signed the inter-party cooperation agreement of the HSWP and the FLN party for 1985-86.

KADAR, NEMETH MEET WITH SZOT'S GASPAR, MEHES

LD090315 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Janos Kadar has met trade union leaders. The first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee, visited the headquarters of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] where the guests were received by SZOT Chairman Sandor Gaspar and Secretary General Lajos Mehes.

Janos Kadar gave an account of the implementation of 1984 political and economic plans and preparations for the party congress. He also praised the work of Hungarian trade unions. Sandor Gaspar and Lajos Mehes informed those present about the ways in which trade unions carry out their work following the 1983 Central Committee resolution dealing with the trade unions. The trade union leaders spoke about the latest sessions of the SZOT leadership and about other issues of trade union work.

The secretaries of the national council also participated in this meeting.

LEADERS SEND MESSAGE ON PRK NATIONAL DAY

AU081033 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and chairman of the Council of State of the PRK; to Comrade Hun Sen, acting chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK; Phnom Penh:

Dear Comrades! On the national holiday of the PRK, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council, and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and on behalf of the entire Hungarian people, we send our heartfelt greetings and good wishes to you, the Central Committee of the KPRP, the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the PRK, and the Cambodian people.

The Hungarian people view with appreciation and respect the results achieved by the Cambodian people since the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime in recreating the living conditions and restoring the destroyed society and ecoonomy. It is our conviction that the long-suffering Cambodian people, led by the KPRP, will continue to progress on the road of construction of the new society.

We highly appreciate and support the efforts made by the PRK to strengthen the peace and security of Southeast Asia.

We conclude with satisfaction that our bilateral relations are developing in harmony with the endeavors of our peoples, serving the cause of peace and socialism. The talks held by the Cambodian party and government delegation in Hungary last year, and by the Hungarian party and state delegation during its recent visit to Cambodia, have also served the deepening of these relations.

On the occasion of your national holiday we wish you and the entire Cambodian people further success in implementing the tasks set at the Fourth KPRP Congress.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic;

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

PIOTROWSKI ADMITS GUILT IN POPIELUSZKO TRIAL

LD092318 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Here is a report from another day at the trial on the kidnapping and murder of Father Popieluszko, held before the voivodship court in Torun.

The court session began at 0900. Defendant Grzegorz Pietrowski, in accordance with yesterday's statement that he does not want to talk about events at stops in the scrub and forest, began today's evidence from the moment of departure from the last stop.

[Begin recording] [Pio rowski] When the trunk lid was shut and we set out in the direction of Wloclawek, we continued to drive very slowly. The car [words indistinct] we were unable to go faster than 50-60 kph. I was 100 percent certain that we were being pursued. I said aloud to turn off the Warsaw route and proceed toward Lodz. Then both colleagues -- I think it was Waldek Chmielewski -- suggested that we leave Popieluszko there, that perhaps he would not last the journey, but it was difficult then to think logically at all. There was a moment when Waldek Chmielewski said that something was moving in the trunk, Popieluszko. I turned round -- Waldek was watching the trunk all the time -- and leaned out and saw, Your Honor, Popieluszko's face. I was amazed; immediately I sat back.

[Unidentified questioner] With the trunk closed?

[Piotrowski] Your Honor, not by chance my defense council asked Waldemar Chmielewski whether he saw the face, and light. I thought that perhaps I was dreaming, but I remember that through a wide gap in the trunk lid -- I don't know why the light was on in the trunk -- I saw the face of Popieluszko. It seemed to me that it was the face of a dead man. I was under the impression that it was a dead man.

Again my colleagues said that he should be left there, after all. I had the impression that perhaps they thought he was alive. I probably added something like: Let's think about it; on my part, probably. What was to be done. Was he to be left somewhere in a ditch by the side of the road, presumed dead, or not? In any case, we drove on and arrived at that junction. A Citizens' Militia [MO] patrol was visible from a distance. A militiaman came out of the patrol car. At the signal to stop I leaned over and showed the pass through the window. The militiaman waved us on. I told Pekala to turn back; we'll go via the dam. I was convinced all the time that it was I who had killed Popieluszko.

We turned right onto the dam; we crossed the dam. We stopped the car by the outlet. I said: We have to get rid of him here. We can't take him any further and there is no longer a chance; there is no sense. The three of us got out of the car. We took Father Jerzy Popieluxzko's body out and drowned (?it). I can't say, may it please the court, who held what part of the body. We left the vicinity of the dam and went back the way we had come. After several hundred meters Lexzek Pekala said that Popieluszko was not alive. I said: That's right. I can't describe the atmosphere in the car. After some time Waldek fell silent basically. I was horror-stricken because what had happened had not been planned. Leszek returned to the subject that if Chrostowski recognized him, he would be thrown to the lions. I tried to cheer him up somehow. Maybe I was cheering myself up in this way, that his idea was impossible, that we were supposed to have those guarantees, after all; (?but) I doubted that what I knew there was supposed to have been agreement about, would give protection as well, when it came to death.

Maybe I said something about [word indistinct], but I think it was Leszek Pekala who said it: (?I said) simply, that if the body was not found there was some hope; that we had to keep silent. I knew that if anything happened they would probably rescue us; if anything happened, maybe they would send us abroad. Leszek probably said that that would suit him fine. There was a general feeling of dread.

I could not tell my colleagues that I had killed Popieluszko. They were in such a mental state that I knew I had to tell them something. There came a moment when Leszek said he just had to have a drink of vodka. That alcohol was not drunk, esteemed court, to celebrate anything. It was a rapid drinking of alcohol in order to have something to do. I do not think we stopped on the way to Warsaw. It seems to me that the car was rather silent. The matter with the traffic control in Warsaw is already known. I would like to go back to the militia patrol in Wloclawek. For me, this patrol, appearing in so desolate a spot -- I felt it was a desolate spot -- was a militia road block. I was convinced of this. [end recording]

[Reporter] The defendant Piotrowski then spoke of the attempts to cover up the crime. The court then read out excerpts from the investigation with respect to Jerzy Popieluszko that was underway before the amnesty. They contained formulations that slandered the state and the ecclesiastical authorities, particularly Primate Jozef Glemp.

The auxiliary prosecutors protested against the public reading of this material. Following the break Artur Kujawa, chairman of the panel of judges, took up a stance regarding this matter. Earlier, however, he permitted the defendant Grzegorz Piotrowski to make a statement.

[Begin Piotrowski recording] I have misled the esteemed court with one of my statements. Please forgive me. During the prosecution, statements have cropped up to the effect that I directed certain matters with premeditation. The word premeditation has pained me because there was none. That is why, when asked about my attitude toward Jerzy Popieluszko, I said it was professionally cool. It was not professionally cool. Esteemed court, my attitude to the matter as a whole was somewhat different. My work, esteemed court, involved my with all violations of the rule of law by the Roman Catholic clergy. For instance -- and here let the gentlemen who are sitting here in their uniforms in the dock with me listen to me particularly attentively -- the murderer of their colleague, Father Zych, who had been sentenced for murder, was supposed to be transferred just before me arrest from investigative arrest -- from prison -- to a monastery, so as not to be an upsetting sight. As a result of pressures from the Episcopate which went on for 6 months, such an agreement was forced upon the authorities and this man perhaps now even celebrates mass in a monastery. All so that the masses would not be upset that he is free. How can one keep calm, Your Honor, when one cannot get through the barriers, and when one has information about cooperation of one of the bishops with the Gestapo during World War II and cannot direct this case to the Commission for Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes? The Western press wrote about this, and such material also reached Poland after some time. It will not be a secret that the one involved is Bishop Tokarczuk, code name (Kuna). How can one, Your Honor, remain calm when sum of 80 million now involved in the lawsuit in Wroclaw, rested peacefully in the safe of Archbishop Gulbinowicz, who now of course has made a mockery of the relevant questions and demands for the return of the money, from those who expect such a return to the rightful owners?

How can one, Your Honor, stay calm when, practically in public, praises are sung about how nice the Gestapo was during the war, and against this background comparisions are made with the Citizens Militia Motorized Reserve [ZOMO], those slobs from ZOMO, and those Gestapo people who were so nicely dressed, such clever people, and so well-educated. Bishop Werno spoke about this, while at the same time nothing stopped him from breaking up marriages.

How can one stay calm, Your Honor, when every year the taxes due from the church are waived, taxes worth several dozen million which are due, and at the same time once a quarter the fund to assist churches in the East donates amounts -- I remember such a case recently -- of $470,000?

How can they apply for customs duty relief? For instance, in 1981 a total of about Z30 million was received, and all just for luxury goods, for cars and the like. How can one stay calm, Your Honor, when schools were being occupied, thus flaunting and breaking the law, and young people were incited? I do not know whether the court is aware what the system of educating young people was, from the foundations, at the so-called Oasis. Conspiracy, code names, training in hatred for the authorities: university pastoral activity, conspiracy and code names.

One cannot stay calm, Your Honor, when during one of the street demonstrations in Gdansk a runner was caught carrying a miniature walkie-talkie radio, and the radio direction measurements indicated where the central transmitter was at the presbytery of St Brigida Church, at Father Jankowski's. I was not officially cool. That is all I wanted to say.

[Unidentified questioner] I would like to return now to the questions raised in this court before the break. I would like to observe that the Penal Procedure Code, i.e. the Polish procedure, does not envisage objections. But we shall treat this statement as a suggestion. [as heard] I would like to add here that practice does not dictate at what point of the trial which document is to be read out. This must be decided by the trial itself and by the logic of the trial.

However, the code does have provisions regarding which documents may be read out and which may not. To ensure the correct conduct of Piotrowski's and others' trial, at the stage which we reached it was necessary to have recourse to documents in order to show Piotrowski that he was not speaking the truth. It was necessary to have recourse to documents contained in the files of the case -- discontinued under the amnesty -- against Jerzy Popieluszko, who later became the victim, and to show the defendant that what is contained therein and has been rendered in part by the court, and also that what he wrote in his statement contradicts what he said in this courtroom yesterday. For these reasons the court cannot accept the motion to waive the reading of the two documents and parts of the third one. [end recording]

[Reporter] Next the court asked for an elucidation of an expression used by Grzegorz Piotrowski yesterday while speaking about plans to kidnap the priest and methods he intended to use to compromise the priest.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified questioner] What does the deceived (?husband) concept mean? We do not understand this.

[Piotrowski] I will explain everything. I simply had information about relations between Jerzy Popieluszko and a certain lady. Should the need arise, I can give the name and tell about the circumstances: hotels, bars, restaurants, and so on. But I do not think it is necessary. At one stage in the investigation it seemed to me that if it were to come into the open...That's why I didn't think that it would be said that I wanted to ordinarily, crudely [word indistinct] blackmail Popieluszko. [end recording]

[Reporter] Next the court compared investigation materials to what Piotrowski said at the trial. Among other things, this concerned the defendant's plans regarding Chrostowski after he was stopped.

[Begin recording] [Piotrowski] When we were catching up with the Golf, I must say that I realized then that I was at least attempting something (?greatly) beyond my capability.

[Question] You realized this when you were catching up. Could you not at that time abandon the implementation of your decision?

[Piotrowski] Your Honor...

[Question] As happened on the road from Gdansk?

[Piotrowski] Conditions (?weren't the same). Then I had to carry out the task (?on my own). It was more or less like a heap of stones: You pull the wrong one out, and the heap starts collapsing so fast that you can't even manage one thought before you are buried. Please do not expect any logical answers from me regarding looking at it in a different way, which you suggest from time to time. I cannot (?reply) logically.

[Question] Fine. Please tell us whether you gagged the priest or not.

[Piotrowski] This is my impression.

[Question] Please say why you did not put the priest, for instance, in the back seat or something like that. After all there were such plans [words indistinct]

[Piotrowski] [in midsentence] under the condition that he sits without any, simply let us say that he sits. I was afraid...

[Questioner interrupts] In the prone position?

[Piotrowski] I was afraid, Your Honor, that Chrostowski, with us having a prone and unconscious Popieluszko inside -- I though about it for a moment -- he could, even though he was handcuffed, he could grab the steering wheel, so that we would all end up in the ditch, smashed up into little bits. We wanted to show, even as regards Chrostowski we used the words: He escaped, or something like this. That is when speaking among ourselves. This was planned, but only if Popieluszko was in a normal condition inside, conscious, without having to use force, of course without knocking him unconscious. [passage as heard]

[Question] The accused, when speaking about Chrostowski, said in his preliminary statement that he -- well, perhaps he can agree to the charge that he held him temporarily -- but to put it briefly, that he did not deprive him of freedom.

[Piotrowski] Perhaps I failed to express myself precisely.

[Question] Well, this is more or less the essence of your statement; I am not repeating it word for word. The point is, could the accused describe precisely for us what the accused admits, and what did this preliminary statement mean, as the accused did not explain this more fully to us later on.

[Piotrowski] Your honor, I am using certain notions in their colloquial understanding, as this is all I am capable of. Speaking about certain phenomena it is difficult for me to evaluate responsibility from the point of view of the law. [Word indistinct] I simply intended to deprive Waldemar Chrostowski of his freedom for a few hours, by tying him up and immobilizing him.

[Question] Does the accused [words indistinct] gagging, pistol in hand [words indistinct] to stay calm, does the accused understand this as a particular torment or not?

[Piotrowski] Your Honor, I am convinced that legal terms call it particular torment. However, my personal feeling which is generally understood, it seems to me, is that I can imagine more drastic methods of torment [words indistinct] relatively gentle method.

[Question] Does the defendant link this with some torment or not? Or was it ordinary deprivation of freedom?

[Piotrowski] I believe, Your Honor, that I called this stone-throwing a kind of banditry. This was some kind of first suggestion; perhaps it was talked of from the theoretical, hypothetical angle. And how to call it, yes. Now, to call it rather strongly, now I feel that...

[Questioner interrupts] If the defendant found himself in the same situation would he consider it a particular torment, or not?

[Piotrowski] Certainly for the interested, or for the victim it is some kind of torment. I personally [words indistinct]

[Question] Please tell me; the defendant spoke about contacts with defendant Pietruszka. You mentioned a situation in which Pietruszka allegedly said that the best would be a bandit attack [word indistinct] or pushing him out of a train. Let us stay with those two definitions. But during the investigation the defendant at the same time added that he never treated this seriously, that it seemed impossible to accept. There is a difference in what you said before the court and what you said during the investigation, because in the court the defendant did not make this reservation.

[Piotrowski] Your Honor, as far as a bandit attack is concerned, I most certainly did not say during the investigation that I did not treat it seriously; I most certainly did not treat remarks about a heart attack and pushing him out a train seriously -- particularly pushing him out of a train, because the heart attack was an illustration; perhaps to say this in another way, if someone asked me that I understand the phrase heart attack as a recommendation for killing, or something like this, naturally it would be difficult to treat it seriously.

In any case, the fact that he said such a thing meant to me that Adam Pietruszka was counting the worst. On the other hand, with absolute certainty, I did not take his remarks about falling out of a train seriously, that is, seriously in the sense that anybody was to carry it out. It was impossible to carry it out for obvious reasons [word indistinct]

[Question] Could one put it like this: possibly, that this was a sort of illustration for possible undertakings?

[Piotrowski] Well, in regard to the train, I...

[Questioner interrupts] As an instance, let's say, so that the accused himself could declare that he didn't take it seriously? He did not make that declaration in the court. In view of this [words indistinct] before the court [words indistinct] an example of how to act, (?or thought) one could act?

[Piotrowski] I would call the statement about a heart attack an illustration; but falling from a train, I don't know how that came about. It seemed incredible to me in any case that anybody had thought of it. The same goes for that wonderful accident. Well, the only illustration, one could say, of something one was reckoning on, was that matter of the heart attack. But in regard to the train...

[Questioner interrupts] Please answer this question now: Without the inspiration of the defendant Pietruszka, would the accused have undertaken those actions which were implemented, in that or in another form?

[Piotrowski] May it please the court. First of all, it would have been impossible for formal reasons. I would not have been able to leave Warsaw for a distance greater than 100 to 200 kilometers and return. Second, sometimes it is possible to waive discipline a bit; but on the whole activity of a serious nature -- and this was very serious activity -- undertaken without the knowledge of one's superiors didn't come into play at all.

[Question] That's not what I'm getting at at this moment. I mean without the inspiration.

[Piotrowski] Of that type, certainly not.

[Question] Without that encouragement?

[Piotrowski] It was simply impossible. It is difficult to talk about encouragement; it was a task. If it hadn't been set, or if I'd wanted to do it, may it please the court, I would have done it when there was more stress on this subject of Popieluszko, for there were moments when Popieluszko was more of a nuisance than in October.

[Question] If one wants to sum it up at this moment, could one say that without the inspiration of the defendant Pietruszka, the accused would not have undertaken those actions on 18 and 19 October?

[Piotrowski] Definitely not.

[Question] What is the accused's attitude today to those deeds, and particularly to the death of Father Popieluszko?

[Piotrowski] I think that despite everything I am still a normal person and that (?in general) I react normally. We all stand here today, stripped of any kind of pride or dignity. I am certainly guilty of this death to a certain extent. I am also guilty of the (?suffering) of the mother to whom no one can give back her son. I do not even dare ask (?her) for any forgiveness. Esteemed court, I am also guilty of the death of those officials who died while investigating this matter. I can also imagine how their families must feel toward me. They are dead. However, those who sit here in the dock are still alive. I would like to say...

[Questioner interrupts] Polish law does not contain the concept of civil death.

[Piotrowski] Waldek Chmielewski, esteemed court, was a normal, healthy man only recently, who took joy in his child, who was beginning to walk, and in the one due to be born. Leszek Pekala was only recently a carefree [word indistinct] man too, and it is difficut to shake off the nightmare that I have taken them away from their families too, and that I have to a large degree been responsible for the fact that they are not as they once were, that (?they) simply lack a reason for living.

I have condemned a large number of people to suffering. Although Polish law does not recognize this notion, I have condemned myself to civil death. This gives the esteemed court an image of what I think. In any case, I would like to say that a sentence will be passed in this court and this sentence will not affect me, for I died on 19 October 1984. A civil death is far worse than a physical one. [end recording]

GROMYKO-SHULTZ NEGOTIATIONS DRAW COMMENT

Joint Statement Noted

LD091428 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] A joint Soviet-American statement after talks between Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and American Secretary of State George Shultz was published in Geneva. The statement says that the two states will conduct disarmament negotiations. Their subject is to be a group of issues concerning space, nuclear, strategic, and medium-range weapons. The talks will aim at working out sufficient agreements to prevent the arms race in space, and halt it on earth. The date to start the talks and their location will be decided within a month through diplomatic channels.

Agreement 'Good Sign'

LD091456 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 9 Jan 85

[By PAP correspondent Edward Dylawerski]

[Text] Geneva, Jan 9 -- After two days of total information blackout on the course of talks between Gromyko and Shultz, over 800 journalists from all over the world could finally send out a favourable report that agreement was reached. Thus world's expectations came true.

After a thirteen-month-long break in the disarmament dialogue between the Soviet Union and the U.S., it was announced that the dialogue would resume.

No one believed that the agreement would have such a range, i.e. that it would provide for the topic and goal of the disarmament negotiations between the two powers. It was rather expected that announcement would be made of the next meeting of both ministers and further discussions.

The achievement of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the U.S. during "negotiations on negotiations" has become a good sign for the year which has just started, irrespective of all obstacles which can still be met after the beginning of Soviet-American disarmament negotiations.

Press Views Talks

LD091512 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 9 -- The Polish press today carries reports and comments on the continuing Soviet-American dialogue following the two-day Gromyko-Shultz talks in Geneva. The Warsaw newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote: "The joint Soviet-American statement has gone beyond expectations. It has confirmed the unquestionable success of the Geneva meeting, its key importance for the further shape of relations between the two superpowers which announced the resumption of new, all-round disarmament negotiations.

"Hence, the Soviet Union and the United States have reached an agreement on the scope and character of disarmament talks -- the most important in their to-date relations. They have put the superior interest of the need for debates over existing differences to contain the looming threat of arms escalation and deployment of weapons in outer space.

"They have met halfway the expectations of nations, have given them the hope for the opening of a new and better chapter of both the military superpower and East-West relations.

"Nobody can cherish the illusions that the resumed, interlinked negotiations will follow an easy course. To the contrary, one must expect laborious and long talks. But the gate to disarmament negotiations has now been opened in Geneva.

"The sense of responsibility for the fate of the world has won. The awareness that a lack of agreement on the question of checking the arms race at the stage when there is a real threat of extending them to the outer space would mean stepping through an irreversible threshold.

"Thus, following the period of confrontation policy, the Geneva meeting heralds the return to dialogue. Though it is going to be difficult, the beginning has already been made -- and this is most important," said ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU said in its report from Geneva: "The journalists who arrived in Geneva and waited for a news conference (after the Gromyko-Shultz meeting) shared the belief that the two-day talks in Geneva which lasted more than a dozen of hours enabled the two delegations led by the heads of the Soviet and U.S. diplomacies to exchange views and assessments of the strategic situation, present their stands and familiarize themselves better with them. This should foster further dialogue, and nobody in Geneva has any doubts it should be continued.

"The key obstacle is created by the fact that Washington is sticking to its anti-satellite defence programme, that is the so-called star wars concept. Differences on other issues also exist. Just for this reason it is necessary to hold further talks, further dialogue and, in the future, disarmament negotiations."

MINISTER DISCUSSES PRICES, CRISIS, REFORM

PM091301 Warsaw VETO in Polish 2 Dec 84 pp 4-5

[Part I of an interview with Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, head of the Office for Price Affairs, by VETO Consumers' Circle representatives Zygmunt Poltorak, Teresa Ratajczak, and Tadeusz Wolski; date, place not given; uppercase passages printed in boldface]

[Text] [VETO] You were the author of the price reform which began in February 1982. What effects do you see of the policy which has been pursued by the Office for Price Affairs for almost 3 years now?

[Krasinski] By their nature, economic phenomena resemble physical phenomena. Thus, just as in the atom there are protons and electrons, that is, positive and negative charges, so there are negative and positive signs to every economic phenomenon. If I show that the number of positives has increased, then one of you will immediately say that there are still some negatives left. And you will be right!

[VETO] We are interested in the positives which you see.

The Four Positives

[Krasinski] The first, undisputable one is the fact that we have brought our producer prices to world levels.

[VETO] Except for the price of coal...

[Krasinski] Yes. The price of coal, still being subsidized, is an exception. But it is the only exception. Apart from that, at long last our enterprises and our economy are now aware of which commodities are rare, and which are more easily found in the world. This is a very important new element of our economic thinking and our economic activity.

[VETO] But has our hard currency exchange rate been calculated at the correct level?

[Krasinski] Perhaps the dollar ought to cost Z135, that is, about 10 percent more. Nevertheless, producer prices remain comparable. Previously we have had differences where the one was three times as large as the other. I would nominate the ELIMINATION OF SUBSIDIES FROM MANY SECTORS OF OUR ECONOMY as the second positive element. In fact, apart from four areas, namely the power industry complex, housing, transportation, and food -- the order is of importance here -- the subsidy accounts of all the remaining consumption areas are clear. Three years ago almost every sector of our economy was subsidized to a greater or lesser extent. We will aim to eliminate further subsidies. Food subsidies are already minimal...

[VETO] This presumably means that the next price increases will be coming in that order: food, transportation, rents, and heating?

[Krasinski] I think so. It is necessary to apply the instrument of prices wherever we can achieve the greatest effects with the smallest effort.

[VETO] Food is subsidized throughout Europe, and yet we want to abandon food subsidies?

[Krasinski] We will subsidize food. Certainly milk, since that is the way of providing the cheapest animal protein, essential for biological regeneration of the organism. But if we continue to subsidize milk and also, say, cheese, then food subsidies will keep fluctuating around 10 percent.

We will have to wait a bit longer before we abandon the scheme of transportation subsidies. We have great problems with housing, which is subsidized in no mean way from the budget. In Poland we have one room per statistical inhabitant. This means that the housing shortage is illusory. It stems mainly from poor housing policy, which also involves rents. Our credit policy toward people who would and could build their own homes is also consistently atrocious.

[VETO] Minister, do we take it to mean that you believe we are paying too little for our apartments?

[Krasinski] I do not mean poor housing policy in that sense. The Bulgarians, for example, have 10 different credit instruments which operate on the principle of "let him who can build his own." And new houses are indeed being built there all the time. But at the same time a very vigorous policy is pursued with regard to those who have apartments.

[VETO] Is it really true that in Poland we have one room per inhabitant? How are such statistics obtained.

[Krasinski] Even as much as 1.1 rooms. That is what the statistical yearbook says. Your reservations as to whether this data is correct stem from the fact that here we are dealing with an unfair -- in the ethical sense -- distribution of resources. The statistical indicator is quite satisfactory, and if each Polish citizen did in fact occupy one room, there would be no housing problem at all. But there are individuals who have three rooms to live in and who can afford to pay the rent. It is simply that there are no economic incentives to foster a more uniform distribution of our available housing space. A young married couple which is likely to start a family will aspire to four rooms. But they have no way of knowing whether this particular woman is not going to be the one statistical woman out of ten who will remain childless.

[VETO] And what guarantee do those aspiring young couples have that, if they are given a small apartment today, then later on they will be able to exchange it for a bigger one?

[Krasinski] Not a very firm one, whereas our aim should be precisely to provide them with such a guarantee, to have the kind of housing policy that would offer every family the possibility of moving into larger accommodations the moment a child was born into that family. A correct housing policy ensures, among other things, that citizens can change their apartments six or seven times during their lifetimes, starting with a small place, then changing to a bigger one, then working their way up to an apartment with a higher standard of luxury, then moving to a better area, and so on. But here in Poland these natural residential moves have become paralyzed. Once somebody moves into a place, he can be sure that he will not leave there until they carry him out in his coffin. People just cannot face the difficulties of changing their accommodation: It involves too much trouble.

[VETO] Many elderly couples today are still living in the same four-room apartments in which they once raised families of several children. Now the children and the grandchildren only come to visit at Christmas and during holidays, but the grandparents still refuse to move somewhere else, even though they have to pay the so-called surplus space rent. You can hardly blame them.

[Krasinski] I once spent a year in England. Do you know what they do over there? They move. They take a different apartment, or else they rent out rooms, but that is not as good as moving. When the children come to visit, they simply stay at a hotel.

[VETO] It is good practice, but it hardly applies in our circumstances. In Poland hotels are not only scarce, they are also expensive. Can we learn some further concrete effects of your price reform?

[Karsinski] The third positive thing is the GREATER FLEXIBILITY OF PRICES. We no longer have rigid prices which remain the same for 10 to 15 years.

[VETO] We have not had that many years since the introduction of the reform...

[Krasinski] But there will be no rigid, long-term prices in the future either. The same line has also been adopted by ministers responsible for price affairs in other CEMA countries.

[VETO] We agree with you about the movement of prices. Each year there are new price increases of one sort or another. Is this how you understand flexibility in this context?

[Krasinski] Once we reduce inflation, the prices will begin to come down, or trade will not be able to sell its goods. If our inflation index falls to 6 or 7 percent, prices will also fall. Incidentally, do you realize why consumers always see price increases as large, and price reductions as small? If the price of an article goes up from Z100 to Z200, how many percent has it risen?

[VETO] One hundred percent.

[Krasinski] Right. And if we reduce its price from Z200 to Z100, how large is the reduction?

[VETO] Fifty percent.

[Krasinski] Therefore we can never boast that our price reductions are as drastic as the increases. It follows from the nature of statistics. But let us go back to the flexibility of prices. A flexible price policy yeilds results in the form of production increases. So far this is noticeable in agriculture, but there is nothing stopping our industry from embarking on an identical system, that is, adopting the following guideline: I find it worth my while to get on with the production, since no one is going to take away the profits that I make as a consequence of increasing my output. Previously, when enterprises were combined in associations, the directors of the latter would say this to enterprise managers: "I am really glad that your production is economical and that it has increased, because I can pocket the money which you have earned and give it to another associate, one whose results are weak and who is barely managing to stay afloat." The present system gives an opportunity to expand to those who are efficient and discourages laggards, although it has not yet discouraged them for good.

[VETO] Works managers complain that they are being hampered in their development by Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz just as they were once hampered by the associations.

[Krasinski] Minister Nieckarz operates by applying instruments, and that is different. It is just as well that managers are complaining, because it means that the reform is working. If the relevant ministry dictates the following conditions: "You turn out goods for export and we will reduce your corporation tax," it is only creating certain opportunities for that enterprise, and not issuing the injunction: "You must produce goods for export."

I do not want to list too many positive effects of the price reform here, because I am convinced that your paper can find an equal, or larger, number of its negative aspects.

[VETO] Back in 1981, when you were stressing the need for a price reform, your main argument in favor of the reform was an improvement in the structure of prices. How do you assess the situation in that aspect now? We have our doubts.

[Krasinski] I find it interesting that these charges of not having improved the structure of prices are now emerging against us. The old problem was that, previously, industrial consumer goods were too expensive, whereas food was too cheap. And now doubts are beginning to emerge whether we have in fact improved price relationships. One often hears the accusation that the prices of industrial consumer goods are going up faster. Nothing of the sort is happening! The relationship between food prices and industrial consumer goods, fixed in 1982, are now improving, because the prices of the latter are going up more slowly. Some people could say that this is why they are not available on the market, but that is another question.

[VETO] We are also thinking about internal price relationships, for example between food prices. One instant people say that it is worth buying coffee, the next that it is worth buying tea, and, bang, the prices go up. Right now a packet of tea, and it is by no means the best quality tea, costs more than Z200.

[Krasinski] Relationships between the prices of tea and coffee depend on many factors, and this applies not only in Poland. But let us take another example. I often hear the following complaint: Why is mineral water more expensive than milk? Farmers say: "Is the relation correct when milk, which is a better product, costs less? And I answer: "It is the better product that deserves to be subsidized." That is why we subsidize milk so highly -- so that people drink milk rather than mineral water, on which the producer makes a high profit in any case. But if someone decides that he can pay more for the water, then acting against logic in that way is his own personal decision. Why should he not subsidize the "Spolem" [retailers' cooperative] with his money if he can afford to drink mineral water? Let him pay for the expensive fizz so that others can drink cheap milk.

[VETO] We are afraid to touch the subject of the structure of prices lest we provoke the following reaction: "Well, let us then level up everything which is too cheap!"

[Krasinski] If we talk about the structure of prices within one range of goods, then we will apply the policy of differentiating those prices that fall outside the range of average profitability and average prices. This is because we want to keep the prices of basic goods at relatively low levels and to allow a greater movement of the prices of nonessential goods. Enterprises could then finance the basic goods prices from the profits they make on the higher prices.

[VETO] In 1981 we were comparing the prices of such goods as butter, lard, and oil -- or, for example, sausage and different kinds of ham -- and finding that our price relationships were incorrect and greatly different from price relationships in the rest of the world, one of the reasons being that there had been no movement of prices in Poland for very many years. Recently you forwarded to our editorial office a comparative list which showed the differences between the numbers of hours contributing to the production cost of various goods today and some years ago. We have not found from it that the structure of prices has improved, of that our retail price relationships have even begun approaching world levels.

[Krasinski] Our price relationships are not that far removed from world levels. Every 3 months we obtain, from most of the world's capitals, the current prices, including the lowest, the average, and the highest, of some 200 products. These can be compared with our prices.

[VETO] We would be happy to publish such comparative lists of world prices for our readers who travel abroad and for those who like to know how people live elsewhere and how much it costs.

[Krasinski] They provide very interesting information. If we convert foreign currencies according to official rates but without the tourist charges, we can see that wheatmeal bread is not all that expensive here. One kilogram costs Z40.91 in Bulgaria, Z26.40 in Czechoslovakia, Z56.25 in the GDR, Z49.60 in Romania, Z48.72 in Hungary, and Z28 in Poland.

Nevertheless it is not such a simple thing to lower the prices of industrial consumer goods to the levels in the Western countries. Imagine a situation where the 'Polar' enterprise might wish to set up another "Polar' plant for itself, thus aiming to achieve the objective of establishing low world prices for washing machines and refrigerators.

Who is going to finance the project, so that they can earmark so many tens of billions of zlotys to build a new factory? Will the public be able toaccept the kind of price model which would make it feasible to build a new factory? I do not know. But 'Polar' is not going to obtain credit from the budget. Nor is any foreign country going to offer them such credit.

[VETO] This is not a convincing argument, because any foreign Herr Schwarz or Mr Smith who owns a company like that does in fact expand it and does manage to find the means to do it, and his products are not only very cheap, but on top of that he has difficulties selling them.

[Krasinski] I also would be in favor of building a small-scale factory rather than another 'Polar' plant. This, however, remains in the realm of my wishes and daydreams.

Personally, and this is perhaps a bad thing, I do not see much sense in looking for correct price relationships. For me, the correct price structure will have arrived when we have all kinds of goods -- cheap, average-priced, and expensive -- in the stores. It is then that the correct price structure will emerge. We will then analyze it and publish our findings.

[VETO] People still remember that it was precisely that correct price structure which in 1982 constituted your main argument for price alterations. Why has this subject lost its topicality? Is it no longer important?

[Krasinski] I suspect that people understood the term "price structure" differently at the time. I am going to ask this question during my next visit to a workplace. The subject is still important, of course. Let us put it down as THE FOURTH POSITIVE EFFECT OF THE PRICE REFORM, BECAUSE THE STRUCTURE OF PRICES HAS, IN FACT, CHANGED FOR THE BETTER. If the prices of coal and power have increased as much as 4.5-fold -- with a 100 percent increase in all other prices -- it means that the power component itself, which we were supposed to have a plentiful supply of for the next 1000 years, has become more costly. Have the new prices not shown us that we are dealing with a commodity which is scarcer than we imagined? It is those price relationships which demonstrated that we have not got as much coal as we have been trying to make the public believe.

Minister No Longer Acts as Fireman

[VETO] There was a time when you did not attempt to conceal the fact that making price adjustments is one element in restoring market equilibrium, since we could not count on a rapid increase in output in a short time. Do you still ascribe such a function to the movement of prices?

[Krasinski] When I joined the government, it was not as a professor, or even as head of a ministry, but as minister-cum-fireman. My task was to extinguish the fire that had broken out because too much money was being paid out in wages. Those high payments began in 1978 and reached their apogee in 1980 and 1981. Somebody had to try to stop that excess of monetary conflagration. Let us say that we got it under control in 1982 and 1983. Prices ceased to serve as an emergency measure. That is why my current philosophy has undergone a change: I am thinking HOW TO STIMULATE PRODUCTION THROUGH THE INSTRUMENT OF PRICES; that is, what to do to encourage producers to produce more.

[VETO] Have you arrived at any concepts yet?

[Krasinski] I have not only a concept but also some results. Let us look at those who were the first to react to the latest change in the procurement prices of agricultural produce: THE FARMERS. They have already given us more wheat, more rape, and more milk; and the new prices were, after all, only established 18 months ago.

[VETO] Some say that it was the weather that helped produce better harvests....

[Krasinski] It undoubtedly contributed, but crops are not doubled thanks to good weather alone. It was simply that farmers increased the area under cultivation. In addition, the Association of Oilseed Crop Producers, which has 400 contract employees who regularly instruct farmers in the most efficient methods of sowing and protecting their crops so as to obtain the highest possible yield and profits, was working at top speed.

[VETO] We are not sure that farmers are not going to get discouraged. At some contract purchase centers, people have had to stand in line for 48 hours at a time to sell their grain or potatoes.

[Krasinski] Unlike sworn some people, farmers do not get discouraged from production as easily as that. They will stand in line for 2 days and then spend the next 350 days working. Such, fortunately, is their nature. They will grumble, but they will not abandon their land. I would, of course, prefer them not to have to stand in line for 2 days at a time and not waste so much time over selling their products to the state.

[VETO] Let us go back to the motivating function of prices in regard to producers. You have not really managed to convince us...

[Krasinski] It is because the question is not simple. I spend some 2 hours each day in discussion with my deputies, Wojciech Pruss and Antoni Gryniewicz, on what to do, which line to take, how to construct prices so that they do the most to stimulate production...

[VETO] You said "construct." It is precisely in that practice -- which effectively concerns controlled prices and negotiated prices -- of price construction, based on the cost assessment method, that we see the greatest flaw. You can bury anything in production costs: shoddy workmanship, waste, the building of holiday homes for employees, and so on. These have nothing to do with increasing output or improving the quality of production. Therefore we are not easily persuaded about the stimulating role of prices with regard to producers -- except, of course, for farmers.

[Krasinski] I am going to tell you about certain innovations to be introduced in 1985. Both last year and this year the producer was allowed to include the total of his external, producer prices in the price of his finished product. In 1985 he will not be allowed to include [the first] 3 percent of any increases in producer prices in the final product price. He will have to economize to allow for the 3 percent, or else pay it out of his profits. Let us imagine that the price of coal has risen by 20 percent. The producer will only be allowed to include 17 percent of the increase in the cost of coal. If he does not economize and pay the difference from his profits, his work force is going to get less money, or there will be less funds available for development. Meanwhile there is very considerable pressure from employees who are demanding more pay and further development of enterprises. In practice, then, every enterprise must economize. That is an economic imperative.

In certain industries a regulation will come into force stating that, despite increasing producer prices, the price of that finished product must not rise above a specific limit -- different for individual groups of goods, but always lower than the actual cost increases. Enterprises which succeed in keeping their costs within the permitted limits will bear no financial consequences; those which can bring them down will keep the profits; and those which go beyond them will lose.

[VETO] How high will you allow increases to be?

[Krasinski] At the moment final negotiations are taking place as to these limits.

[VETO] What about the 10-percent price increase index which no enterprise was allowed to exceed?

[Krasinski] It will remain in force. When we were setting that index, we were convinced that many enterprises would not be able to conform to it. Surprisingly, only 36 out of 30,000 enterprises applied for exemptions from that obligation. Despite the popular belief that the Prices Office is easy on price movement, not many enterprises had the courage to approach us. They know that we will not endorse any increase (above the permitted limit) if they do not show us their accounts together with a list of concessions they have already managed to negotiate with the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affirs, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

[VETO] What enterprises make up that list of 36?

[Krasinki] Textile works; various cooperatives producing things like parquet flooring blocks or ping-pong balls; in fact, most of them are small enterprises. We are pleasantly surprised by it, but at the same time we do not quite see why enterprises have suddenly started establishing such self-limitations.

[VETO] Presumably because previously they had used their cost calculation to cover shoddy workmanship, poor organization, and waste. We are still not at all convinced that "3-percent economizing" will force producers to use the motivating function of prices. In Poland we have a vast, underutilized production potential, while production efficiency is really poor. How do you plan to persuade factories to produce more goods of higher quality?

Europe at Rest

[Krasinski] You are talking about underutilized production capacities. The problem involves a wider frame of reference and stems from our European philosophy. Both the distant, dynamically developing East and all the Americas, including Canada, have already written Europe off. Europe has been beaten. Considering the image it presents today, it cannot be relied on. Back in the 19th century the European Continent -- it is a shame that we are part of it -- reached, through a tremendous expenditure of human work and intellect, heights of development which also included economic development. And then it treated itself to two world wars. By the second half of the 20th century, people have decided that, since our great-grandfather worked and our grandfathers fought, all of which resulted in pretty good economic development, it is now time to rest. In France workers have 5 weeks of annual leave, and here in Poland we have 4 weeks. Europe does not want to change. The best example is to be found in England. Workers refuse to agree to the closure of 20 coal mines which yield 6 percent of their coal production output while taking up 40 percent of state subsidies.

They have decided that they want to continue working where they have always worked, and they will not listen to any talk of retraining or restructuring. Things are similar with steel plants in Belgium, France, and the FRG.

No problem of this kind will ever arise in Japan. When it became necessary to close a shipyard there (because it was unprofitable) it was immediately refitted as a joinery works, and the shipyard employees retrained as joiners. Europe has treated itself to a period of rest as a consequence of the development it experienced in the 19th century. We also want to rest today, although we certainly did not work hard in the last century either.

This year the Japanese reduced their annual leave allowance, to which they are entitled by statutory decree, without any national campaign, any referendum, any consultations. They previously had 8 days' annual leave, and they relinquished 5 of those. They concluded that they were having a crisis because their national income only rose by 6 percent.

[VETO] Are you telling us that workers have only 3 days' annual leave in Japan?

[Krasinski] Yes. The longest annual leave is enjoyed by Japanese television employees: 14 days. They were capable of giving up as much as 5 days' leave -- and we should remember that the Japanese devote 1 day of their leave to visiting family graves.

[VETO] This sounds incredible!

[Krasinski] It does, but only to us Europeans. Let us look at the countries now experiencing an influx of capital: Taiwan and Singapore. People work 12-hour days there, and no one dreams of work-free Saturdays. And it is also there that third-generation technology is making its arrival. Will we ever be able to compete with them? That tiny island, Taiwan, exports $12 billions' worth of goods a year to the United States alone, which is twice as much as Poland exports to all her trading partners in the world.

[VETO] Let us return to our own territory again. We note only a weak connection between increasing the price for a given article and increasing its production plus improving its quality. We still believe that inefficiency is absorbed by costs. And it is the costs which, after all, serve as the basis for determining the majority of prices.

[Krasinski] If a person could be found who could define what constitutes justifiable costs, he would be awarded a Nobel Price for economics.

[VETO] We all agree that there is no perfect method for calculating justifiable costs. We, the consumers, are simply very keen to know what we are paying for.

[Krasinski] I shall begin with your complaint that the structure of prices allows for absorbing inefficient economic management into costs. We do, after all, have regulations which offer financial encouragement to producers to reduce their costs. These were quoted, among other places, in your popular periodical, in one of the best analyses published so far, entitled "The 1983 Reform."

I am referring to a provision of which enterprises are unwilling to take advantage. If someone produces an article cheaply for which there is a prescribed controlled price, he may look for another producer whose production costs are higher and who, therefore, will set a higher price for the same product, so that he can increase the price of his own product by 50 percent of the difference between the higher price and his own original price. It turns out that there were no enterprises willing to make a search of that kind and to gain the additional profit.

[VETO] Could it be, then, that there is some industrial lobby at work here?

[Krasinski] No. It is just that producers are unaware of where the prices are higher. Therefore, your objection should not concern the structure of prices, but rather the mental inertia which must have set in people's minds during the past 30 years. Producers lack the first idea of how to get down to finding out about other producers' prices, even if they could profit themselves by doing that.

Consumers' Reactions

[VETO] You have not really managed to persuade us about the motivating role of prices as regards producers. Is there some concept of a motivating incentive aimed at consumers? Something which could be interpreted as follows: "I have little money, so I will work harder so that I can obtain more money for what I want to buy."

[Krasinski] It is estimated that this year some 500 enterprises should be introducing an incentive wage system, although I believe that the number will be lower than that. So it is obviously difficult to find even 500 enterprises, among the existing 30,000, in which people want to earn high wages. This constitutes a certain testimony to people's willingness to earn money -- or, rather, to their unwillingness to do so. If people adopt the philosophy which claims that it is better to live a poor existence without much effort than to put in some effort to achieve a higher living standard, then what can one do about it? One is bound to feel pretty powerless if that is the philosophy adopted by the population. But the population accepts this state of affairs partly because we are still a long way from achieving market equilibrium. I cannot believe that a wife whose husband spends his Saturdays watching television with a tumblerful of vodka in his hand would not say to him: "Look, our old washing machine is about to fall apart. We need a new one, so why don't you go and earn some money right now?" But the trouble is that right now the gentleman sitting in front of the television set can reply: "And where am I supposed to buy you that washing machine, or anything else for that matter?"

[VETO] And it is not really worth his while, either, to save money with the present level of inflation.

[Krasinski] Let us not exaggerate. Did you know that the Japanese get no pension for the first 10 years after they retire? They have to live on what they have managed to save from their salaries.

[VETO] Do they get no pension at all?

[Krasinski] No, because, after all, they work for the preceding 40 years or so.

[VETO] This must mean that they earn enough to be able to put a sufficient amount aside in savings.

[Krasinski] It is not as much as all that. The Japanese have a lower living standard than we do. Their level of consumption is lower as well. And with that level of consumption, lower than ours, they can still work as hard as they do, precisely because they know that they have nothing on their islands except their own hands. They have negligible mineral resources and little arable land. Our tragedy is that we believe that we cannot possibly go under even if we do not do much work, because of the wealth of our natural resources. While they are well aware that if they do not work, they will perish!

But you were asking me about the motivating function of prices with regard to the consumer. I am going to give you an example, perhaps it is not a typical example, because it does not lend itself to generalizations. We make quality butter at Z114, and there is also the same product with quality Mark 1 which is 5 percent more expensive. I had talks with dairy producers last spring, and they told me that there was no problem with producing butter, but there was a shortage of wrapping paper. The Jeziorna works, near Warsaw, which used to make 4,000 metric tons of greaseproof paper, has cut its shifts down by one because it is short of manpower. And so it is only turning out 2,000 metric tons of paper, while another 2,000 tons which are needed are simply not there. In this situation they began searching around Europe for the cheapest source where the paper could be bought. After a while they found the paper, but at that precise moment they ran out of hard currency to buy it. Later, when the paper at long last arrived in Poland, it was impossible to find a printer who would print them labels saying "quality" and "1."

[VETO] By the time they got everything together, the butter had, presumably, gone bad?

[Krasinski] No. At long last, quality butter marked with the label "1" at Z120 per kilogram, found its way onto the market. It then turned out that the consumers would indeed by very willing to eat better quality butter, but only if they do not have to pay more for it. In Poznan, a city of 600,000 inhabitants, only 300 kg of top-quality butter are sold daily. This is because the Poznan folks are careful with their money and they are not eager to pay the higher prices. So how am I supposed to encourage producers to turn out better quality goods if consumers say: "No, thank you" to quality?

[VETO] The cheaper butter is expensive enough...

[Krasinski] But how can one encourage higher quality in such a situation?

[VETO] Does the price inspectorate, subordinate to your office, protect our pockets effectively from the consumer's viewpoint?

[Krasinski] We have issued Resolutions 195, 49, and 102, all of them counteracting unjustified price increases, and on the strength of those legislative acts inspection bodies carry out control checks. Next year they will be checking on enterprises' compliance with the regulations I have been talking about here.

[VETO] We should like to hear some examples of gross infringement of price regulations. Which factories escalate prices most?

[Krasinski] I do not carry their names in my head. My father used to say this to me: "There are 3 billion people in the world. Each of them has a first name and a surname. There is no way you can remember them all, so try to remember the figures instead." Hence my ability to quote figures more easily than names.

[VETO] But surely you must remember at least the worst price offenders?

[Krasinski] As far as I am concerned, my nature dictates that I speak well of everybody, because I believe that all people conduct themselves well, which is obviously not true. But I know that it is more important to show trust in people, because then some of them are bound to return the favor.

[VETO] And do people, in fact, return your trust in them?

[Krasinski] I must say that no one has yet trodden on my toes. I have never been wronged in a way I would be unable to forget. I have tremendous faith in people, and so far I have not been disappointed.

[VETO] But Minister, people do throw mud at you to a certain extent.

[Krasinski] There is a difference between throwing mud and carrying out one's threats. Quite a difference. I am quite often told after a meeting at a workplace: "Our workers threatened to string you up when you turn up here, but in the end they applauded you instead. What on earth have you done with our work force?"

I think that you can find out more details about price inspection checks carried out in enterprises from the chief price inspector. I am convinced that he will tell you about all instances of misconduct and even about all gross malfeasance committed by producers. It would be interesting to map out an atlas of price trespasses: how it looks in eastern, as compared to western Poland, or how price offenses are distributed as regards individual sectors of industry. Which sector is the most eager to raise prices without justification? Is it light industry, or the cooperative sector, or perhaps heavy industry, which is seldom mentioned in the papers? The press does not concern itself with giant production plants or enormous figures. But it is not only diminutive cooperatives which drain our purses. The giants do it too.

JABLONSKI ADDRESSES DIPLOMATIC CORPS IN WILANOW

LD092225 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2045 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] In Wilanow a meeting has taken place between Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State and the diplomatic corps.

Wilanow Palace in Warsaw is the traditional location for the meetings between the chairman of the Council of State and the diplomats accredited in Poland. Representatives of the supreme state authorities, the PZPR and the political parties, the social organizations, and the municipal authorities of Warsaw attended. In his address to the assembly, Henryk Jablonski stated:

[Begin recording] It is obvious that the effects of our actions also depend on external factors, on the development of our international relations and on the international situation in general. That is why we value so highly the forging of still tighter comprehensive links with the fraternal socialist states, and above all with the Soviet Union. Important meetings and visits at the highest level and intensive working contacts of various kinds have contributed to this. No doubt 1985 will see a further enrichment of this cooperation. The recent difficult years have given us the best proof of its significance.

Our relations with the developing countries have shaped up favorably. They are based on shared aspirations and mutual understanding. We will continue to strengthen and deepen them.

We are prepared to carry out a further normalization with all states. The precondition for its success is recognition of the political and social realities, as well as respect for the sovereignty and equality of states, along with the other fundamental principles of international law. We are of the opinion that the return to mutually beneficial cooperation between Poland and the West is important on many counts· it is one of the preconditions for the reduction of tension in the world and for the restoration of a policy of peaceful coexistence.

The foreign policy of People's Poland is a policy of peace and security. This is shown irrefutably by all 40 years of the postwar period. Together with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, we will continue to do everything we can to contribute to a healing of international relations, to free Europe and the world from a new conflagration. It is in this spirit that we will develop comprehensive activity in every field open to us.

It is obvious that its effects also depend on your work, Messrs Ambassadors, both to remove from our relations the things that are wrong and unreasonable, and to search out the ways that best serve the cause of agreement, cooperation, and friendship between the Polish People's Republic and the states from which you have come. Messrs Ambassadors, please convey our best wishes to your peoples and to the supreme authorities and governments of the states you represent. Please accept also our wishes of health and success in your professional activity and private lives for yourselves, your spouses, families, and colleagues. [end recording]

JABLONSKI, OPZZ LEADERS DISCUSS CURRENT TU ISSUES

LD092251 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, has received in the Belweder the leadership of the National Trade Union Accord (OPZZ) with its Chairman Alfred Miodowicz.

The OPZZ representatives reported on the current issues of the trade union movement in Poland and on the implementation of the documents of the First OPZZ Conference in Bytom. Alfred Miodowicz also acquainted the chairman of the Council of State with the problems which need to be solved following the establishment of the national trade union representation, the need to create the conditions for it, so it will be able to fulfill the tasks which the trade unionists set for it. The OPZZ leadership raised, among other things, the issue of the trade union law, which in the light of the trade unionists' opinions, needs to be amended to increase the legal powers of trade unions and take into consideration the new socioeconomic situation.

CORRECTION TO RAKOWSKI SPEECH AT PRON MEETING

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Rakowski Views Domestic Situation at PRON Meeting," published in the 8 January Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page G 5, second paragraph, line three: ...and full of respect for patriotic national tradition, is capable of facing up to any attempt to destroy the values...(changing word "criticism" to "tradition")

SCINTEIA REPORTS REAGAN MESSAGE TO CEAUSESCU

AU071439 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jan 85 p 5

[Message from President Reagan to Romania President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Esteemed Mr President: I want to express thanks for your kind message on my reelection. I very much appreciate your good wishes.

In the coming 4 years I will take pleasure in continuing our cooperation with a view to resolving the multiple problems confronting us. I very much appreciate the good relations that exist between our nations and I hope that we will continue to strengthen these relations.

With best wishes,

Sincerely, Ronald Reagan

CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS SYRIAN PARTY CONGRESS

AU071521 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jan 85 p 5

[Message sent by RCP Central Committee to Eighth Regional Congress of Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party held in Damascus]

[Text] On behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we want to extend warm greetings to the participants in the proceedings of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, to all militants of your party, and to the friendly Syrian people.

We take this opportunity to stress our satisfaction with the relations of friendship between the RCP and the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party based on equality, esteem, mutual trust, and understanding. A role of great importance in expanding these relations has been played by the meetings and fruitful talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, and Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. We are convinced that the constant development of relations between our parties is an essential factor for expanding and diversifying relations between Romania and Syria in political, economic, cultural, and other areas in the interest of the two peoples and the cause of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

The 13th RCP congress was recently held in Bucharest. It made an inventory of the noteworthy achievements attained by the Romanian people in increasing and modernizing the forces of production, in improving the qualitative level of the overall socio-economic activity, and in perfecting and deepening the system of socialist democracy. At the same time, the congress put forward the main guidelines of Romania's development in the 1986-90 period and future guidelines up to the year 2000.

Concerning itself with successfully building socialism in our homeland, the RCP is promoting a dynamic and constructive international policy designed to contribute to establishing an atmosphere of peace, understanding, and cooperation among all world countries. This is in keeping with the basic aspirations of our people who are vitally interested to halting the aggravation of the international situation and in the resumption of the policy of detente and cooperation, in renouncing the use or threat of force, and interested in resolving all disputes between states by negotiations alone to stop the arms race and achieve general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to defend the people's right to freedom, peace, and life.

Proceeding from this, Romania continues to advocate, with great determination, a political solution to the Middle East problem, so as to ensure a global peace in that area and a solution to the Palestinian people's problem on the basis of their right to self-determination, including their right to create their own independent state. In this spirit we advocate an international conference with the participation of all states concerned, including the PLO. A global solution must bring about a lasting and just peace and must ensure the independence and sovereignty of all states in that area.

Dear comrades, in extending wishes for complete success in the proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party we also want to reiterate our satisfaction with the constant development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples. We want to express the conviction that these relations will constantly develop in the interest of the two countries and peoples, the solidarity of all anti-imperialist, progressive, and democratic forces, and in the interest of the cause of peace, independence, understanding, and cooperation among peoples.

[Signed] The RCP Central Committee

CEAUSESCU GREETS CASTRO ON LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

AU072028 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 January 85 p 4

[Message sent by Romania President Ceausescu, and Prime Minister Dascalescu to Fidel Castro Ruz on Cuba's liberation anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Havana;

On the occasion of the 26th anniversary of Liberation Day, the national day of the Republic of Cuba, please accept our cordial congratulations and warm comradely greetings on behalf of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and on our own behalf.

We express our belief that the good relations of friendship, solidarity, and overall cooperation between our parties and peoples will more strongly develop in the interest of building socialism in Romania and Cuba and for the general cause of socialism, people's independence, peace, and international cooperation.

We wish the friendly Cuban people new successes in the work to build socialism, peace, and prosperity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

MILKA PLANINC TO VISIT FRANCE 16-18 JANUARY

LD092219 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2125 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Paris, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, will pay an official working visit to France from 16 to 18 January, it was announced in Paris tonight.

Milka Planinc, who is paying an official visit to France at the invitation of Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, will also be received, according to reports here, by Francois Mitterand, president of the French Republic.

BORBA ATTACKS OFFENSIVE USSR KOMMUNIST ARTICLE

LD092131 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- "Four decades have regrettably not been long enough to enable some people to accept the historical truth and resist the temptation to give in to transitory interests -- one does not know whose interests and why -- and so from time to time they revive the already worn-out story about their own concept of internationalism, liberation, and the share of the victory over the Hitlerite hordes," BORBA says in tomorrow's issue.

After saying that "it would be possible to pass in silence and calmly over a repeat version of the old forgeries because both Europe and the world know what and how much the Yugoslav peoples, headed by their party and Tito, contributed to universal freedom," the author of the article, entitled "Salt and Our Ever Open Wounds," D. Cukic, goes on to say that "now, on the eve of the majestic celebration of the 40th anniversary of cruel World War II and of the universal wish that no similar cataclysm should ever happen again, ill-intentioned people -- what else can one call them -- bring handfuls of salt for our ever-fresh wounds. What hurts is when such messages arrive from the Soviet environment, which has also never ceased to grieve for its sons and daughters, and which is understandably sensitive to everything that is said (and the way it is said) about the period of time between that well-known day in June 1941 and the day the Soviet flag was hoisted over the ruins of Berlin in May 1945."

"And yet it is in that very place," BORBA continues "in the capital of the USSR, that they have twice over the past few days gone back to the theme which we believed, at least since the meeting of the two countries' historians and the signing of a protocol by them in the spring of 1981, they would never revive in the same old way.

"Now, however, the journal KOMMUNIST and Moscow Radio in Serbo-Croatian are measuring the past with a yardstick which is incompatible with the real state of affairs and, consequently, with scientific truth."

The SAWPY organ asks where the Moscow journal gets the "idea that it should place such an authentic revolution as the Yugoslav one on the same level as some resistance movements or areas which were ruled by the local quislings till the Hitlerite's last breath, and more than that, though one wonders why this has to be said again, that it should place the Yugoslav peoples' struggle on the same level as the states which virtually until the German capitulation were our country's occupiers and sowed death in it while at the same time waging war against the Soviet Union together with Berlin."

"It is obvious, BORBA says, "that this theme is not at all new.

It is regrettably revived from time to time regardless of the fact that it is quite certain that it cannot be accepted by us and the honest world public, and it is also clear that it does not contribute to the development of what is otherwise successful cooperation between the two states on the basis of the long-established principles of respect and equality.

"Historical facts are not without importance for good relations, and consequently Yugoslav and Soviet historians held a 5-day series of meetings in Volgograd and some more in Moscow in June 1981. The two delegations were headed by Dr Mihailo Apostolski and Dr Aleksey Narochnitskiy; after 10 papers and exhaustive discussions they arrived, let us recall, at joint attitudes on questions which had until then been liable to be disputed without scientific arguments."

The author of the article published in BORBA continues that "it goes without saying that no one has ever denied that the USSR played the biggest role in World War II in the struggle with Hitler's forces and their active supporters, but Yugoslavia, not a big country, also was a beacon, the only one in enslaved Europe. The above-mentioned meeting described without reserve our major role and contribution, which, with the exception of the Soviet Union, was not matched by anyone else." Recalling the extent and importance of the national liberation struggle and the revolution in Yugoslavia in the period from July 1941 to May 1945. BORBA goes on:

"The meeting between our national liberation army and the Red Army at our eastern border was a meeting between comrades-in-arms and the culmination of the common aspiration to shake off the fascist yoke. This happened when new Socialist Yugoslavia had already been constituted at Jajce and was already breathing with full lungs. This truth is known all over the world and it is also known by the Soviet historians who conferred with our scientists and who put a halt to 'lack of precision' on World War II."

"Why then this new story," BORBA asks in the concluding part of the article, "and the desire to change things? This fills us with bitterness, offends us, and leaves us amazed by the fact that even during this jubilee year of victory over fascism anyone should want to belittle the place of Tito's socialist, self-managing, and nonaligned Yugoslavia, and its contribution and share which have always been held in high esteem everywhere, and whose importance cannot be judged by anybody's arbitrary individual will."

SUNDIC SEES POSITIVE TURN IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

LD091607 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Our foreign political commentary deals with the Shultz-Gromyko talks which ended last night, or, more accurately, with relations between the great powers and the problem of disarmament. It has been a long time since the two superpowers have been as equally satisfied with the course and the outcome of their reciprocal dialogue as they were with this 2-day dialogue in Geneva. Here is Milika Sundic:

The USSR and the United States have reached agreement to renew the negotiations on disarmament -- strategic, medium-range and, for the first time, space. Within a month we shall know when and where this long-awaited dialogue will begin.

The agreement between the two superpowers was reached during the 2-day Gromyko-Shultz meeting in Geneva which, according to the evaluations of both sides, passed in a calm and constructive atmosphere.

The dialogue appears to have met expectations and shows that both sides prepared well for it, not only as far as the resumption of disarmament talks is concerned, but also, as a Soviet commentary stated, for the future of Soviet-U.S. relations as well.

The Gromyko-Shultz agreement envisages that future negotiations will proceed along three lines which presupposes three negotiating teams: on strategic, medium-range, and space weapons. This is obviously a compromise that satisfies both sides, the U.S. side because the USSR is accepting negotiations on strategic and medium-range weapons, and the Soviet side because the United States is accepting dialogue about space weapons. What is involved, therefore, is an all-embracing dialogue conceived in such a way as to place both parties in an equal position regardless of which of them has an advantage in strategic, medium-range, or space weapons.

The successful outcome of the Gromyko-Shultz dialogue shows that the disarmament problem can be discussed if both sides equally want to do so, that is to say, if neither side tries, which has been the case so far, to attain certain unilateral advantages.

The successful outcome of the Gromyko-Shultz meeting has also proved that something is turning for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations which gives hope that an improvement of general conditions in the world could occur. Of course, one should not delude oneself and believe that the forthcoming talks between the two superpowers will be easy. Even the Gromyko-Shultz agreement on the modalities of negotiations did not pass without difficulties and concessions by both sides were obviously required to achieve it.

The stands of the USSR and of the United States on the problem of reducing and limiting nuclear weapons, not to mention space weapons, continue to differ substantially. True, what makes the agreement between the two ministers important is the fact that they discussed both the resumption of disarmament problems and the totality of Soviet-U.S. relations. Obviously nothing else could have been done because no disarmament negotiations can be successful unless there is a simultaneous improvement of political relations between the USSR and the United States.

The success in Geneva presupposes that this improvement is round the corner and one must hope that the two sides will not stop there and that in this reciprocal rapprochement, should one occur, they will not neglect the interests of the rest of the world which until now has suffered more than anyone else because the great powers and military blocs were preoccupied by their narrow interests and calculations to the detriment of everyone else.

If the Gromyko-Shultz agreement were to signal a new departure in the present behavior of the two superpowers, which would be a normal thing to expect, both in mutual relations and on the international plane, this no doubt would be a big contribution to peace and international understanding.

SERBIA REJECTS ANALYSIS OF FEDERAL COOPERATION

AU091521 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Excerpts] The joint session of the three committees for sociopolitical relations of the Serbian Assembly failed to extend working confirmation to the analysis by the Federal Council for Social Order on realizing common interests in the federation through direct cooperation between republics, provinces, and other sociopolitical communities. The delegates think that the document, although it was worked on with great pretensions, has failed to fulfill expectations, and therefore is not suitable for a public discussion.

Instead of noting problems and pointing to ways to overcome them, the analysis, according to the delegates' assessment, minimizes the barriers in the functioning of the political system, covers up the perpetrators of the increasingly worse situation with Yugoslav togetherness, and tends to maintain the status quo. Zivojin Jerotijevic report:

All our analyses that were made by consensus have one common negative harbinger and one common characteristic feature: the lack of political courage to avoid Aesopian language when talking about problems and weaknesses and readiness to quickly reach accord on what we agree about, since we cannot agree on what we do not agree about. This fact, it seems, is not taken into consideration in the analysis of the realization of common interests in the federation through direct cooperation of republics and provinces which was prepared by a working group of the Federal Council for Social Order which was composed on the parity principle. This is why the delegates of the three committees of the Serbian Assembly have seen this analysis, as they put it, more as an attempt to gloss over the problems with affirmative layers and to search for problems where there are none, rather than as an intention to face the truth openly. Hence, in the final part of the analysis, there are no practical alternative solutions that follow the line of the constitutional concept of our federation, and no moves toward a more efficient functioning of the political system.

Without disputing the original competence of republics and provinces in activities of common interest, the delegates think that the federation is not deprived of power to such an extent that it should be indifferent toward situations and conditions that actually mean slowing down the social development of the people. And this is always the case when cooperation succumbs to tendencies of encapsulation and self-sufficiency.

Although this warning by the delegates includes a spark of wit, there is also a bit of truth hidden in it. The agreement of republics and provinces about the common interests in the federation has found itself on a track that is, it seems, less and less a common one. And precisely to defend the self-managing system and strengthen its efficacy, the delegates of the Serbian Assembly advocate the building in of protective mechanisms. The essence is in the demand that a regulation be included in the system which would extend the competence of federal organs exclusively in the cases when cooperation between republics and provinces fails. Whether this stand will gain wider support remains to be seen.

PANCEVSKI ON DIRECTIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM REFORM

AU092037 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jan 85 p 2

["From" an interview with Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia, given to NOVA MAKEDONIJA and which that paper carried in its New Year's issue]

[Text] When thinking about the essential directions of changes in the political system we must start from how to ensure a much more complete and consistent expression of the integral character of social ownership and self-management. We shall thereby ensure that the roots leading to encapsulation in associated labor and, beyond it, in society, are overcome. Hence, one should understand the current specific activities pertaining to expressed needs for changes in the political system primarily as seeking solutions to sluggishness and inefficiency in political institutions, and not as advocating changes of fundamental orientations and bases of the system.

However, I must stress that there are certain differences and even misunderstandings about what kind of changes should be carried out, because one starts from different assessments on whether situations and individual solutions in the political system are directly reflected in the functioning of the socioeconomic system and implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. In case these changes fail to start from the general social interests of Yugoslavia as a whole, from the essential questions of self-management, from political relations, and from the dominant role of the workers class, they will be an end in themselves and will not yield any more significant results.

Answering a question on unity in the LCY, Milan Pancevski said that by strengthening its unity, the LC creates the unity of those forces that are on the line of socialist development. Therefore, we do not need a unity that will be based on techno-bureaucratic or similar concepts, or a unity in leading structures or in organs that would represent concentration of power and maintenance of hidebound or deformed situations and relations motivated by personal or group interests. On the other hand, it goes without saying that the presence of different opinions during a democratic debate should not be always qualified as disunity.

There is federalization of relations in the LCY and this has a very negative impact on realizing the LCY's cohesive role. The causes of these phenomena appear to a great extent because of the existing phenomena and tendencies towards bureaucratization in the LC and especially in its most responsible organs, which also makes impossible the direct expression of workers class interests on the entire Yugoslav territory. As a result of all this, the LC often exhausts itself, so to speak, exclusively on individual partial interests of class or associated labor, or on individual regional, republic, or provincial interests instead of struggling for what represents the common and most progressive interest of the workers class.

LCY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES

LD092226 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- The LCY Central Committee Presidium, presided over by Ali Sukrija, has considered the measures and activities which continue to be indispensable if inflation is to be halted and gradually reduced.

The Presidium judged, according to the report on the session, that the high rate of inflation continues to represent one of the gravest problems for socioeconomic development and realization of the policy of stabilization. Rising prices and inflation threaten the positive results achieved in realizing the stabilization program and, in particular, are creating difficulties for a large part of the working class and low-income groups. Steep inflation also has an unfavorable effect on rational economic activity and the development of socialist self-managing relations.

The Presidium considers that, apart from specific objective difficulties, this is also due to inconsistency in implementing all the measures envisaged in the anti-inflation program and the stablization program in general, as well as to insufficient activity aimed in associated labor and [word indistinct] at eliminating the causes of inflation.

The Presidium considers that the League of Communists and all social factors should in every way involve themselves and be active in carrying out the long-term program of economic stabilization,as it is the complete program of measures and activities of all the social subjects and the realization of the long-term strategy and will help us find a way out of the present socioeconomic difficulties and open up prospects for achieving successful social and material development based on self-management.

Hesitation, deviation, and slowness in realizing the stabilization program in its entirety are not permissible in the course of these efforts. In keeping with this it is indispensable that the anti-inflation program be carried out consistently. Everyone must bear full responsibility for omissions and [word indistinct] in adoption of the agreed measures aimed at curbing inflation. Economic and development policies in 1985 should be pursued in the form of a complete program of struggle aimed at curbing and reducing inflation. Communists must strive to ensure that there are no violations of the agreed policy on prices, of which there were examples at the beginning of this year. The Presidium stresses the need to be most resolute in adopting economic, legislative, and political measures against all those social subjects and individuals who seek to raise prices in defiance of the agreed policy.

The Presidium demands from communists that they strive most resolutely for the adoption and realization in organizations of associated labor, in municipalities, in republics, in provinces, and in the federation of programs, measures, and activities whose realization will curb and reduce inflation. Of vital importance in this connection are higher production and exports, reduction of production costs, consolidation of other positive aspects of economic activity, prevention of unjustified price rises, and the creation of conditions for halting the drop in and raising the standard of living of the working people in keeping with increases in work productivity. The Presidium, the report says, also adopted rules on obligations concerning the flow of political information between organs of the LCY and organs of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

VOJVODINA LC COMMITTEE MEETING DISCUSSES ECONOMY

Political Reform Schemes Hit

LD092053 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 0908 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- At its meeting in Novi Sad today the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina is summing up the general party discussion in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee. This discussion has been going on for months and in it over 6,000 basic organizations of the LC of Vojvodina comprising 23,000 communists have taken part. The discussion is summing up the general party discussion in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Dobrivoje Vidic is attending the meeting on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and secretary Radisa Gacic on behalf of the LC of Serbia Central Committee Presidium.

The central position in the report submitted by Milovan Sogorov, a member of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the Vojvodina, was given to the struggle for economic stabilization and especially to the question: What is happening today to production relations at the grassroot level? This question is important because any delay in their development amounts to retardation and degradation of the revolutionary process, and such delays cannot fail to substantially affect the totality of social relations in all the areas and forms of social work and creative effort.

Noting that in basic LC organizations shortcomings in the functioning of the political system are subject to serious criticism, Sogorov said that in relation to this matter the discussions proceed from the understanding that the 1974 constitutions and the Law on Associated Labor, as well as the decisions of the last three party congresses, represented a program of struggle over a longer period of time and for this stage of the development of our revolution. This is why the struggle for their implementation is even today a basic criterion of the continuity and workers-class character of our revolution. We are more duty-bound to implement them than anything else.

This shows that the efforts stressing that the system and the Constitution have to be changed proferred to us under various guises and as a result of various arguments are ill-conceived and unacceptable. These changes are sought on behalf of "efficiency" of self-management but, deliberately or unintentionally, the role and the responsibility of the subjective factor, especially of the LC, is overlooked. It is also forgotten that no political system can function by itself or under the impact of constitutional or legal norms and that it is not some sort of perpetuum mobile, Sogorov said. Sogorov emphasized that for this very reason implementation of the Constitution, of the Law on Associated Labor, and of congress orientations must be viewed critically from the point of view of the role and responsibility of subjective forces and then what has to be changed in the system and what in the conduct must be established.

Without that approach, Sogorov said, any proposals or actions bidding to change the system, objectively speaking, serve [words indistinct] unitarism and bureaucratism or separatism, even when the proposals have the best of intentions. This is why these proposals have triggered off violent reactions and disagreement in the LC of Vojvodina. As a result, the demand has been made that the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee in its turn and in keeping with its role should step up the action whereby, on the basis of established orientations, it will take more resolute practical steps to more substantially enrich our practice, make such practice more successful and consistent, and bring about new high-quality steps in the implementation of our political system. A critical observation made by LC members, organizations, and organs is that we should wage a daily struggle against both manifestations of bureaucratic centralism and unitarism, and against particularism and separatism. Discussion has shown that we are exposed to this pressure today more than we were yesterday. There is the uniform demand that a more aggressive struggle be fought against these kinds of pressure and that we should extricate ourselves from this situation as soon as possible.

Milovan Sogorov then said that there is a dire need today both constantly and critically to evaluate implementation of the constitutional concept of all sociopolitical communities and also to change the ideas and conduct associated with it more quickly. "The essence of this question is not the redistribution of power among sociopolitical communities but the consolidation of economic and political authority of workers in associated labor, which is the only way to restrict and push out etatism at every point and in our society as a whole.

"The interests of revolutionary continuity, of associated labor, of national equality, and of the democratic development of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia have established the demand for consistent implementation of the constitutional concept of the socialist autonomous provinces. Hence the great importance of the struggle against some manifestations of the denial of this constitutional concept and against insinuations regarding this matter which, parallel to great propaganda pressure and unprincipled political support, are being trotted out as scientifically thought-out problems. Nationalism is behind all these theses, unless it has already put its fingers in them. It is important for the LCY Central Committee to take up its stance on these questions," Sogorov said.

Noting that demands have been made during the public discussion that all outstanding issues be discussed and agreed on calmly and cogently, Sogorov said that the present climate in our society -- which includes a great deal of indignation, anger, frustration, concern, uncritical attitudes, and inadequate information -- is not exactly a help in this matter. The situation requires that the LC and its organs be equal to the present historic moment and provide democratic and equal cooperation with a view to resolving this problem. This practice of work by the organs of the republican and provincial Communist Leagues must be the basic method and way to strengthen LCY unity.

Sogorov went on to say that during the general party discussion the Communists stressed the importance and need for further consolidation of the equality, brotherhood, and unity of our nations and nationalities.

They vehemently denounced all the manifestations, appearing in an increasingly aggressive form, which are directed at ruining the equality, brotherhood, and unity of our nations and nationalities.

The activity of religious communities, which is often outside the law and constitution, has a direct unfavorable influence on intranational relations. This concerns aspirations and persistent equation of what is national and what is religious, the renewal of national mythologies, church guardianship over the development of national cultures today, and statements from clerico-fascist positions.

From the viewpoint of the bureaucratic-centralistic and unitarian concept of LCY unity, criticisms were made during the discussion regarding the present LCY structure in which LC organizations of the republics and provinces, as independent and equal organizations, make up a united LCY. These "critics" see this organizational system as the main cause of disunity. It must be stated clearly: It is not the existence of the LCY of the republics and provinces which causes federalization within the LCY and disunity in LCY policy, the emergence of different political orientations, and the emergence of group and faction elements. It is this that worries some.

Sogorov went on to say that the discussion on the organization and work of the provincial committee must proceed primarily from its constant and living links with the organizations of the LC of Vojvodina. Although the public discussion did not abound with direct criticism or ideas regarding promoting the work of the provincial committee and its Presidium, the consensus of opinion was that in the current socioeconomic and political situation the provincial committee must be more mobile and active in implementing its functions as the highest organ of Vojvodina LC between the two conferences. The responsibility of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee for formulating its political stands and for consistently implementing the agreed policy is borne equally by the membership and organizations of the Vojvodina LC and by the LCY and its Central Committee.

We cannot and must not be confused or retarded in our action by the emergence of diverse ideas and little ideas concerning a return to the obsolete bourgeois principles of the political organization of society, concerning restoring various aspects of etatist centralism through the emphasis of the national element and the neglect of the class element, or concerning the need to "reduce self-management" in the name of so-called efficiency. Doubts about the creative strength of the working class and its social (?force) are expressed primarily in the form of justification of a techno-bureaucratic monopoly of authority and of privileged state-ownership and group-ownership relations which still exist in our society and which are falsely described as protagonists of the struggle for "rationality", "efficiency," and "prosperity." To give in to these pressures today, 10 years after the 10th LCY Congress and the adoption of the SFRY Constitution, would be tantamount to returning to the old obsolete relations successfully overcome and rejected by our revolution and the LCY during the preceding period.

Our strength, Milovan Sogorov concluded, is not an cannot be in restoring and reaffirming obsolescent relations. Our strength is in the social power of associated labor and of the self-management associations we have built; in the decisive role, freedoms, and influence of the working people and citizens; in the political system of socialist self-management; in brotherhood and unity; in the equality and reciprocal solidarity of all our nations and nationalities; in our self-management federal community; and in the independence and nonaligned policy of our country.

The first speaker at today's meeting of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, Rade Popovic, first pointed out that in the all-party debate, the most severe criticism of one's own work is voiced in basic organizations of associated labor in material production, and this is very significant for the LC.

However, a sense of responsibility on the part of others who with their work and activity do not respect constitutionality and legality is also demanded.

We work and talk so differently that it is almost as if we belong to different parties and not to the united LCY organization, Miladin Stanimirovic said. We should aim at a much more incisive ideological differentiation of LC membership. A party in which every member interprets the LCY Central Committee attitudes in his own way cannot be an avant-garde party.

A particular quality of the all-party debate is the fact that it has initiated the question of LC activity in the socialist alliance, but this has not met with sufficient reaction in today's introductory report, Bogdan Tankosic noted. Speaking about opportunism and lack of activity by the LC in sociopolitical organizations, he recalled that the LC can emerge from the present situation "victorious only through all-embracing social action." Because the subjective forces do not participate enough in the work of the socialist alliance as the basis of the political system, this largest sociopolitical organization is increasingly becoming "the front of forums and not the front of action."

There should be many voices in assessing the causes, but unanimity in assessing the situation. This is the chief characteristic of the present juncture in Dr Svetislav Stojakov's view.

In agreeing with the view that it was necessary to ascertain scientifically the causes of the present crisis, Stojakov added that one cannot, however, stand idly by until this analysis has been compiled. But regardless of the analysis involved, no one can ignore the "plebiscite-like conviction expressed by the membership that this country can develop only as a socialist, self-managing, federal, and nonaligned community. Those who think differently must postpone their malicious joy for another occasion."

Stojakov went on to note that the LC, afraid of being labeled "dogmatic" often describes some matters in such relative terms that there are extremes in views and in some fundamental LC orientations. As an example he quoted the long-term economic stabilization which some see as the lodestar for the development of socialism and replacement of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and others see as the road to capitalism. Yet nowhere are there such extremes as in the debates on the political system. How much mistrust has been sown, only to end by a knock on the open door -- is the LC for or against changes? I think that both the fear of changes and bringing about changes without a clear ideopolitical aim are equally dangerous. To many, for instance, the position of the republics and in particular of the provinces within the Socialist Republic of Serbia is a thorn in their flesh. They say that the 1974 Constitution has given advantage to the national over the class aspect, to the economy by agreement over the market economy, and that it has introduced elements of confederation. They speak of the equality of the nations and with use the expression "the rights of the nationalities."

The fragmentation of the Yugoslav economic territory, the negative consequences of which the working people have been experiencing already for years, Radisa Gacic [secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee] stressed, has also posed an objective threat of restricting class consciousness. The class aspect has begun, in particular at the republican and provincial level of the decisionmaking process, to retreat in the face of the national one. This has led to the chief social contradictions in Yugoslavia being reflected as conflicts by etatist structures which have made themselves independent. It is here that the roots of the growth of nationalism in all environments lie, the secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee believes. The attempt of the counterrevolution in Kosovo was a drastic example of nationalism which had grown up on the bureaucratic omnipotence of the managing structures.

Among the political issues often raised in the public debate is undoubtedly also the question of achieving unity ahd cohesion in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. In this connection he stressed that the communists in all parts of the Republic were unanimous in their conviction that the degree of unity, in particular in the LC, should and could be greater. As in the whole of the country, in Serbia, too, the trends of the economic integration and cultural communications have weakened considerably and this is the consequence of many etatist restrictions. Communists do not like to accept this isolationism just as they do not like the fact that such a situation represents a favorable ground for the activity by nationalists of all shades. In this respect, severe criticisms have been voiced at the expense of the LC leaderships. They are expected to fight more consistently for the self-managing integration of associated labor in the Republic and farther afield and not to succumb to the logic of bureaucratic confrontations which have been emerging in the forefront whenever the principles of the LC position were absent.

Most of the critical comments of the work of the leaderships are centered on the question of their unity and responsibility for the implementation of the established policy. The LC, as also our entire society, has been gripped in recent years, Gacic said, by powerful disintegrational tendencies which have begun to threaten the implementation of its basic role and responsibility for the state and prospects of the development of Yugoslav society. In practice, the principle of democratic centralism in the LC is threatened to a large extent, while in many situations the LC has succumbed to bureaucratic divisions and reduced its role to advocating narrow interests, thus losing sight of matters as a whole. The violation and even overt denial of the principle of democratic centralism is particularly visible in relations between LCY sections. Many relations between the leaderships of the LC of the republics and provinces as well as relations in the LCY leadership have begun to follow the logic of etatist and nationalistic divisions. Should such tendencies continue, Gacic pointed out, the LC will slide into internal relations which will make it a mere aggregate of fully independent entities, unable to express the united interest of the Yugoslav working class.

Stevan Sogorov noted that the all-party debate in Vojvodina imposed the conclusion that the rank and file of the League of Communists demand changes in our work, behavior, activity, responsibility, and that it calls for elimination of ideological disunity and opportunism.

There is and cannot be any misunderstanding as to what we in the Vojvodina LC are in favor of, said Dr Milan Mali. We are in favor of perfecting the political system.

Sreta Stajic said that when people speak about changes in the political system they should always clearly indicate what changes they are talking about. In connection with discussions on the constitutional positions of the provinces, he said that anyone in favor of going back to the 1963 constitutional concept should state this clearly, noting that this would have to be a subject for discussion in the appropriate organs.

Atila Sam, Cedoimir Solarov, Marjana Pajvancic, Bogdan Kavazovic, Dobrivoj Radic, and Silard Varosi also spoke during the discussion at the Provincial Committee meeting. Bosko Krunic, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, gave the closing remarks.

Vidic Speech

LD092056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, took the floor in the debate at the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee meeting.

Vidic said that now when we are bringing the debate in the LCY on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session to a close, it is clear that this debate has dealt in detail, to say the least, with all the chief issues of present-day SFRY development.

How to overcome the difficulties which we face in the country's economic development, Vidic went on, has been at the focus of attention, and this is natural in view of the significance which the stabilization of the economic activity has for all the working people and for every citizen in particular. The debate has been particularly critical in reference to lagging behind in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization rogram.

The debate has demonstrated fully that LC members and our citizens, Vidic stressed, want in the broadest sense a prosperous and strong Yugoslavia. They do not want seperations which will be harmful to Yugoslav interests as a whole. They do not want centralist imposition or "state bureaucratic socialism." In the same vein, they do not want the achievements of the socialist revolution to be threatened. These threats are manifested in demands to change the socialist self-managing identity of the SFRY and in the advertizing of bourgeois economic and political systems. LC members and our citizens reject any kind of separatism, particularism, group-property attitude, or other conduct which does not take into account the character of ownership of the means of production.

Socialist self-management, Vidic stressed, has been unreservedly supported this time too. It can be seen how deep the roots of self-management consciousness have become in these 40 years of the SFRY's peaceful development and that self-management as a system of direct socialist democracy, regardless of present shortcomings and the problems of its further development, has in fact become a style of life in our country. The debate, however, expresses fully the demand for further, speedier destatization and calls for those relevant changes in the political system which will encourage rational economic activity and the full momentum of socialist self-management. For these reasons the subject of the change in the political system has been prominent in the debate.

In view of the federal system of the SFRY, this time too the need to improve our federal system further on the basis of the policy of brotherhood and unity between our nations and nationalities and the need to strengthen efficiency in the system was emphasized. In all this in practice, however, the full equality of all nations and nationalities and all constitutional characteristics of the federal order must be respected. In this respect, the debate has demonstrated that among the broadest LC membership and in society as a whole there are, so to speak, no adherents of particularist bureaucratism, while the relationship between the state, the nation, and nationalities is being raised from the standpoint of dialectical unity of the class and national factors. This also contains the essence of the basic orientation of our socialist society with regard to the further development and prosperity of our Yugoslav socialist self-managing community.

With regard to the political system and the changes being widely discussed, I think it should be said that we are in a position to demand that the Federal Social Council for the Questions on the Social System speed up its work and present to the public its chief proposals. Then it will be much easier to discuss constructively and in an appropriate manner these serious issues of our society. These proposals will define more precisely the basic directions of public debate, which will be waged on further development of the political system of socialist self-management.

The debate dealt quite extensively with the experiences of other workers' movements and countries and with the so-called models of the development of society today.

In this connection it can be said that the basic view has been manifested, that is, that we must go our own way in developing socialism and in developing our socialist self-managing democracy, keeping in mind the federal nature of the community of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and keeping in mind the basic social and political experiences we have gained in connection with our earlier and present development.

The unified orientations of the LCY membership, in the sense in which I have spoken so far, have been fully manifested, Vidic noted. What is asked now is that unity in determining the policy of the country's further development be ensured on time and that, on the basis of democratic debate and the stands adopted, the necessary unity of action at all levels be ensured, with the aim of ensuring efficient resolution of tasks which are given by the LC to its membership.

Strengthening the country's defense, the Yugoslav People's Army, territorial defense, the system of social self-protection, and nonalignment as constitutional categories in the SFRY's international activity have not been called into question by anyone. The debate was held exclusively in the direction of strengthening our efficiency in these spheres of policy and action.

The LCY debate in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session has demonstrated, Vidic stressed, that all LCY action until the 13th congress will develop in such a way as to rally all revolutionary forces, working masses, and generations of our country to overcome the difficulties which we face, to ensure sound development in every sphere and to preserve and further promote Yugoslavia's prestige in the world and its international position. In this respect, the demands to accelerate the development of SAWPY as the broadest front of socialist democracy and as an all-people's movement for the full victory of socialism in our country are very instructive.

Those who have not fared well in this debate both in our society and outside our country are those who maintain that the LCY has no concept of resolving topical social problems, that the LCY and SFRY leaderships are weak, and that the LCY and SFRY cannot cope in resolving social problems. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated that consciousness concerning our ability to resolve topical tasks successfully only on the basis of the great visions and social instructions contained in the LCY program in the long-term economic stabilization program, in specific congress and other LCY decisions, in the documents of our assemblies, etc., is very much in evidence. One should not for a single moment forget, regardless of all our shortcomings and mistakes, that all the subjects of the socialist self-management system in our country have development and work programs. An enormous social organized activity is in progress. Only on this basis can one also understand why in our country trends and individuals who, for their part, try to sow distrust, from antisocialist positions, about the ability of the LCY and other organized socialist forces to continue to successfully lead this community of ours, do not and cannot succeed. They will not succeed, though they are trying in various ways and very actively, to introduce chaos and cause social tension, hoping to take advantage of it.

There has been some wailing about weakness, paralysis and so on, Vidic went on. This is understandable in light of the need to overcome more quickly resistance to the basic course of the country's development. However, the debate has clearly shown that the LC msut come out publicly with the problems and tasks, with criticism and self-criticism, and with constructive activity because only in this way will the working people endorse our work as a whole. Together with them we shall break down obstacles and resistance put up by those who do not want our society to develop on sound socialist foundations. With such work we shall roll back technobureaucratism and bureaucratism.

In such work technobureaucrats and bureaucrats will be unable to continue to hinder the development of socialist self-management and to prevent adoption of decisions on self-managing foundations, and no one will be able, by using the position of his executive function, to revenge himself on a single working man who criticizes shortcomings and mistakes in the business policy, behavior, and life of our society in general.

The debate clearly shows how much the membership stresses the significance of the work of the LCY Central Committee and of the relevant forums in the republics and provinces. This refers to the significance of the policy which should be followed concerning the chief questions of society's development and which should be on time in charting the policy and which should be founded on scientifically-based premises. There must be unity in implementing that which has been agreed on. Effective responsibility for the implementation of the adopted policy must also be pursued.

I must, however, say that this applies also to all other centers of decisionmaking, from workers' councils to federal institutions and forums.

In this respect, the LCY Central Committee Presidium will, on the basis of the debate on the proposed conclusions of the 13th session, work out an action program which will come about by summing up this great debate. The aim is to resolve as successfully as possible until the congress the problems and tasks which are now before us, Dobrivoje Vidic said at the end of his speech.

Krunic Speech

LD092315 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- Bosko Krunic, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, stressed at the end of today's Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee meeting that it is now clear that many aspects of the all-party discussion are of far-reaching significance. The discussion increased LC members' feeling of responsibility for the situation in the League of Communists and in society, strengthened the trust in the LCY, and overwhelmingly manifested awareness of the need for unity in the League of Communists and the country, as well as of the need to promote self-managing democratic relations. Attention was drawn clearly and resolutely to the responsibility of LC leaderships, in particular of the Central Committee, to in a unified way adopt more radical measures aimed at eliminating shortcomings in society. A broad discussion was opened on the situation in the party and country, on the direction in which we are moving, and on what should be done next.

Krunic considered that little room was devoted during the discussion to the way the League of Communists will mobilize the subjective forces, adding that it is no mere coincidence that Kardelj kept referring to their role or, in fact, to the danger of neglecting that role. Our Constitution is at the same time an ambitious program of revolutionary changes, which the conscious organized forces headed by the League of Communists are capable of carrying out. In these discussions about the political system which have become so numerous and have created a considerable amount of confusion, it is most important, Krunic said, that we know what we want and what the League of Communists is striving for.

If we should do anything, the first thing we should do is behave quietly and in a professional manner. All the denigration and even rejection of our political system as defined in the 1974 Constitution is being accompanied by an ever-louder thesis on the impossibility of mobilizing our society while it is organized in this manner. This thesis is based on the conviction and the desire to convince others that there is an unbridgeable gap between principles and what is described as reality.

It is being suggested increasingly loudly that the 1963 constitutional solutions were better and that things were better before the fourth plenary session. And it goes without saying that the constitutional organization of associated labor, the delegate system, the federation, the equality of nations and nationalities are the targets of attacks and that there are also a growing number of articles tainted by nationalism and growing advocacy of the bourgeois model of bureaucracy. The unitarist-dogmatic concept is also growing louder.

Krunic recalled that most of the criticism voiced during the public discussion was leveled at the leadership and this imposes a great obligation on them. The first thing to be done in all the leaderships is to establish constant contact between the rank and file and the leadership organs. Everywhere our work suffers from too many meetings, too much paper, and frequently, and without realizing it, we are sliding into the type of administrative work which leads to bureaucratization.

In making preparations for the conference of the Vojvodina LC, Krunic said, it is necessary to raise questions concerning the size of the provincial committee and the manner of its work, internal organization, and role.

LC ACTION CONFERENCE DISCUSSES KOSOVO SECURITY

LD082146 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 8 Jan 85

[Text] Pristina, 8 Jan (TANJUG) -- At a regular session held today, the LC action conference of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo considered topical questions concerning the security situation, assessed the results achieved, and established the tasks the LC members in internal affairs organs face in the course of further stabilizing the situation in the province. The action conference is reported to have noted that the province's internal security organs had achieved significant results in uncovering, halting and preventing the counterrevolutionary activities of Albanian nationalists and irredentists and that this had made a major contribution to stabilizing the general political and security situation in Kosovo and the country. The conference assessed that the Kosovo security service had achieved significant results since the counterrevolutionary demonstrations occurred, thanks to the correct orientation and energetic and consistent involvement of Communists, all the members of the internal affairs organs and other groups involved in social self-protection, with the League of Communists at their head.

However, the conference also noted that there was no room for complacency because of the still existing security problems, which continued to call for the full readiness of the internal affairs organs and for their involvement in the more effective performance of tasks.

Some conference members asked the conference to consider the item published in the 3 January issue of EKSPRES POLITIKA which referred to an article published in the 20 December issue of the same paper concerning the introductory report by Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs, at a Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Assembly session.

After considering and discussing every aspect of the matter, the members of the LC conference unanimously judged the articles published in EKSPRES POLITIKA under the titles "The Irredentists Are Not Alone" and "What Rahman Morina Wants" to be one-sided negative, and calculated to give the public a subjective idea of the work and attitudes of the internal affairs organs in the province. The conference also expressed the view that this irritated not only the security service members but also all the progressive forces in Kosovo.

TANJUG REPORTS MEETING OF ARMY'S LCY PRESIDIUM

LD091444 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMY 9 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] devoted its first session this year to the preparation of a session of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the JNA which, in light of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee's 14th session, will be held at the end of January. The session was chaired by president of the LCY Organization Committee in the JNA Colonel General Georgije Jovicic, and the introductory report was read by Major General Dr Nikola Cubra, chairman of the Commission for Ideological Questions of Military Economics.

It was stressed in the discussion that the next committee session should get down to seeing how far we have come, and what should be done and how in connection with the best possible implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization. It is particularly essential to point out the successes and the problems which have to be resolved to make sure the communists and the organizations become more mobile and more successful in their activity.

LIBYA TO OVERSEE MOROCCAN INTERESTS IN SFRY

LD101018 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1000 GMT 10 Jan 85

[Text] Tripoli, 10 Jan (JANA) -- It has been learned from a source at the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison that, following the break in diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah has agreed to oversee the interests of the Moroccan kingdom in Yugoslavia, at the request of the former and after the agreement of the Yugoslav side.